

LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS
CHINESE-ENGLISH

大中华文库

汉英对照

史记选

SELECTIONS FROM
RECORDS OF THE HISTORIAN

I



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总 序

杨牧之

《大中华文库》终于出版了。我们为之高兴，为之鼓舞，但也倍感压力。

当此之际，我们愿将郁积在我们心底的话，向读者倾诉。

一

中华民族有着悠久的历史 and 灿烂的文化，系统、准确地将中华民族的文化经典翻译成外文，编辑出版，介绍给全世界，是几代中国人的愿望。早在几十年前，西方一位学者翻译《红楼梦》，将书名译成《一个红楼上的梦》，将林黛玉译为“黑色的玉”。我们一方面对国外学者将中国的名著介绍到世界上去表示由衷的感谢，一方面为祖国的名著还不被完全认识，甚至受到曲解，而感到深深的遗憾。还有西方学者翻译《金瓶梅》，专门摘选其中自然主义描述最为突出的篇章加以译介。一时间，西方学者好像发现了奇迹，掀起了《金瓶梅》热，说中国是“性开放的源头”，公开地在报刊上鼓吹中国要“发扬开放之传统”。还有许多资深、友善的汉学家译介中国古代的哲学著作，在把中华民族文化介绍给全世界的工作方面作出了重大贡献，但或囿于理解有误，或缘于对中国文字认识的局限，质量上乘的并不多，常常是隔靴搔痒，说不到点子上。大哲学家黑格尔曾经说过：中国有



最完备的国史。但他认为中国古代没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前状态。这么了不起的哲学家竟然作出这样大失水准的评论，何其不幸。正如任何哲学家都要受时间、地点、条件的制约一样，黑格尔也离不开这一规律。当时他也只能从上述水平的汉学家译过去的文字去分析、理解，所以，黑格尔先生对中国古代社会的认识水平是什么状态，也就不难想象了。

中国离不开世界，世界也缺少不了中国。中国文化摄取外域的新成分，丰富了自己，又以自己的新成就输送给别人，贡献于世界。从公元5世纪开始到公元15世纪，大约有一千年，中国走在世界的前列。在这一千多年的时间里，她的光辉照耀全世界。人类要前进，怎么能不全面认识中国，怎么能不认真研究中国的历史呢？

二

中华民族是伟大的，曾经辉煌过，蓝天、白云、阳光灿烂，和平而兴旺；也有过黑暗的、想起来就让人战栗的日子，但中华民族从来是充满理想，不断追求，不断学习，渴望和平与友谊的。

中国古代伟大的思想家孔子曾经说过：“三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之。”孔子的话就是要人们向别人学习。这段话正是概括了整个中华民族与人交往的原则。人与人之间交往如此，在与周边的国家交往中也是如此。

秦始皇第一个统一了中国，可惜在位只有十几年，来不及做更多的事情。汉朝继秦而继续强大，便开始走出去，了



解自己周边的世界。公元前 138 年，汉武帝派张骞出使西域。他带着一万头牛羊，总值一万万钱的金帛货物，作为礼物，开始西行，最远到过“安息”（即波斯）。公元前 36 年，班超又率 36 人出使西域。36 个人按今天的话说，也只有一个排，显然是为了拜访未曾见过面的邻居，是去交朋友。到了西域，班超派遣甘英作为使者继续西行，往更远处的大秦国（即罗马）去访问，“乃抵条支而历安息，临西海以望大秦”（《后汉书·西域传》）。“条支”在“安息”以西，即今天的伊拉克、叙利亚一带，“西海”应是今天的地中海。也就是说甘英已经到达地中海边上，与罗马帝国隔海相望，

“临大海欲渡”，却被人劝阻而未成行，这在历史上留下了遗憾。可以想见班超、甘英沟通友谊的无比勇气和强烈愿望。接下来是唐代的玄奘，历经千难万险，到“西天”印度取经，带回了南亚国家的古老文化。归国后，他把带回的佛教经典组织人翻译，到后来很多经典印度失传了，但中国却保存完好，以至于今天，没有玄奘的《大唐西域记》，印度人很难编写印度古代史。明代郑和“七下西洋”，把中华文化传到东南亚一带。鸦片战争以后，一代又一代先进的中国人，为了振兴中华，又前赴后继，向西方国家学习先进的科学思想和文明成果。这中间有我们的领导人朱德、周恩来、邓小平；有许许多多大科学家、文学家、艺术家，如郭沫若、李四光、钱学森、冼星海、徐悲鸿等。他们的追求、奋斗，他们的博大胸怀，兼收并蓄的精神，为人类社会增添了光彩。

中国文化的形成和发展过程，就是一个以众为师、以各国人民为师，不断学习和创造的过程。中华民族曾经向周边国家和民族学习过许多东西，假如没有这些学习，中华民族绝不可能创造出昔日的辉煌。回顾历史，我们怎么能够不对



伟大的古埃及文明、古希腊文明、古印度文明满怀深深的感激?怎么能够不对伟大的欧洲文明、非洲文明、美洲文明、澳洲文明,以及中国周围的亚洲文明充满温情与敬意?

中华民族为人类社会曾作出过独特的贡献。在15世纪以前,中国的科学技术一直处于世界遥遥领先的地位。英国科学家李约瑟说:“中国在公元3世纪到13世纪之间,保持着一个西方所望尘莫及的科学知识水平。”美国耶鲁大学教授、《大国的兴衰》的作者保罗·肯尼迪坦言:“在近代以前时期的所有文明中,没有一个国家的文明比中国更发达,更先进。”

世界各国的有识之士千里迢迢来中国观光、学习。在这个过程中,中国唐朝的长安城渐渐发展成为国际大都市。西方的波斯、东罗马,东亚的高丽、新罗、百济、南天竺、北天竺,频繁前来。外国的王侯、留学生,在长安供职的外国官员,商贾、乐工和舞士,总有几十个国家,几万人之多。日本派出的“遣唐使”更是一批接一批。传为美谈的日本人阿部仲麻吕(晁衡)在长安留学的故事,很能说明外国人与中国的交往。晁衡学成仕于唐朝,前后历时五十余年。晁衡与中国的知识分子结下了深厚的友情。他归国时,传说在海中遇难身亡。大诗人李白作诗哭悼:“日本晁卿辞帝都,征帆一片绕蓬壶。明月不归沉碧海,白云愁色满苍梧。”晁衡遇险是误传,但由此可见中外学者之间在中国长安交往的情谊。

后来,不断有外国人到中国来探寻秘密,所见所闻,常常让他们目瞪口呆。《希腊纪事》(希腊人波桑尼阿著)记载公元2世纪时,希腊人在中国的见闻。书中写道:“赛里斯人用小米和青芦喂一种类似蜘蛛的昆虫,喂到第五年,虫肚子胀裂开,便从里面取出丝来。”从这段对中国古代养蚕技术的



描述，可见当时欧洲人与中国人的差距。公元9世纪中叶，阿拉伯人来到中国。一位阿拉伯作家在他所著的《中国印度见闻录》中记载了曾旅居中国的阿拉伯商人的见闻：

——一天，一个外商去拜见驻守广州的中国官吏。会见时，外商总盯着官吏的胸部，官吏很奇怪，便问：“你好像总盯着我的胸，这是怎么回事？”那位外商回答说：“透过你穿的丝绸衣服，我隐约看到你胸口上长着一个黑痣，这是什么丝绸，我感到十分惊奇。”官吏听后，失声大笑，伸出胳膊，说：“请你数数吧，看我穿了几件衣服。”那商人数过，竟然穿了五件之多，黑痣正是透过这五层丝绸衣服显现出来的。外商惊得目瞪口呆，官吏说：“我穿的丝绸还不算是最好的，总督穿的要更精美。”

——书中关于茶(他们叫干草叶子)的记载，可见阿拉伯国家当时还没有喝茶的习惯。书中记述：“中国国王本人的收入主要靠盐税和泡开水喝的一种干草税。在各个城市里，这种干草叶售价都很高，中国人称这种草叶叫‘茶’，这种干草叶比苜蓿的叶子还多，也略比它香，稍有苦味，用开水冲喝，治百病。”

——他们对中国的医疗条件十分羡慕，书中记载道：“中国人医疗条件很好，穷人可以从国库中得到药费。”还说：“城市里，很多地方立一石碑，高10肘，上面刻有各种疾病和药物，写明某种病用某种药医治。”

——关于当时中国的京城，书中作了生动的描述：中国的京城很大，人口众多，一条宽阔的长街把全城分为两半，大街右边的东区，住着皇帝、宰相、禁军及皇家的总管、奴婢。在这个区域，沿街开凿了小河，流水潺潺；路旁，葱茏的树木整然有序，一幢幢宅邸鳞次栉比。大街左边的西区，



住着庶民和商人。这里有货栈和商店，每当清晨，人们可以看到，皇室的总管、宫廷的仆役，或骑马或步行，到这里来采购。

此后的史籍对西人来华的记载，渐渐多了起来。13世纪意大利旅行家马可·波罗，尽管有人对他是否真的到过中国持怀疑态度，但他留下一部记述元代事件的《马可·波罗游记》却是确凿无疑的。这部游记中的一些关于当时中国的描述使得西方人认为是“天方夜谭”。总之，从中西文化交流史来说，这以前的时期还是一个想象和臆测的时代，相互之间充满了好奇与幻想。

从16世纪末开始，由于航海技术的发展，东西方航路的开通，随着一批批传教士来华，中国与西方开始了直接的交流。沟通中西的使命在意大利传教士利玛窦那里有了充分的体现。利玛窦于1582年来华，1610年病逝于北京，在华二十余年。除了传教以外，做了两件具有历史象征意义的事，一是1594年前后在韶州用拉丁文翻译《四书》，并作了注释；二是与明代学者徐光启合作，用中文翻译了《几何原本》。

西方传教士对《四书》等中国经典的粗略翻译，以及杜赫德的《中华帝国志》等书对中国的介绍，在西方读者的眼前展现了一个异域文明，在当时及稍后一段时期引起了一场“中国热”，许多西方大思想家都曾注目于中国文化。有的推崇中华文明，如莱布尼兹、伏尔泰、魁奈等，有的对中华文明持批评态度，如孟德斯鸠、黑格尔等。莱布尼兹认识到中国文化的某些思想与他的观念相近，如周易的卦象与他发明的二进制相契合，对中国文化给予了热情的礼赞；黑格尔则从他整个哲学体系的推演出发，认为中国没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前的状态。但是，不论是推崇还是批



评，是吸纳还是排斥，中西文化的交流产生了巨大的影响。随着先进的中国科学技术的西传，特别是中国的造纸、火药、印刷术和指南针四大发明的问世，大大改变了世界的面貌。马克思说：“中国的火药把骑士阶层炸得粉碎，指南针打开了世界市场并建立了殖民地，而印刷术则变成了新教的工具，变成对精神发展创造必要前提的最强大的杠杆。”英国的哲学家培根说：中国的四大发明“改变了全世界的面貌和一切事物的状态”。

三

大千世界，潮起潮落。云散云聚，万象更新。中国古代产生了无数伟大的科学家：祖冲之、李时珍、孙思邈、张衡、沈括、毕昇……产生了无数科技成果：《齐民要术》、《九章算术》、《伤寒杂病论》、《本草纲目》……以及保存至今的世界奇迹：浑天仪、地动仪、都江堰、敦煌石窟、大运河、万里长城……但从15世纪下半叶起，风水似乎从东方转到了西方，落后的欧洲只经过400年便成为世界瞩目的文明中心。英国的牛顿、波兰的哥白尼、德国的伦琴、法国的居里、德国的爱因斯坦、意大利的伽利略、俄国的门捷列夫、美国的费米和爱迪生……光芒四射，令人敬仰。

中华民族开始思考了。潮起潮落究竟是什么原因？中国人发明的火药，传到欧洲，转眼之间反成为欧洲列强轰击中国大门的炮弹，又是因为什么？

鸦片战争终于催醒了中国人沉睡的迷梦，最先“睁眼看世界”的一代精英林则徐、魏源迈出了威武雄壮的一步。曾国藩、李鸿章搞起了洋务运动。中国的知识分子喊出“民主



与科学”的口号。中国是落后了，中国的志士仁人在苦苦探索。但落后中饱含着变革的动力，探索中孕育着崛起的希望。“向科学进军”，中华民族终于又迎来了科学的春天。

今天，世界毕竟来到了 21 世纪的门槛。分散隔绝的世界，逐渐变成联系为一体的世界。现在，全球一体化趋势日益明显，人类历史也就在愈来愈大的程度上成为全世界的历史。当今，任何一种文化的发展都离不开对其它优秀文化的汲取，都以其它优秀文化的发展为前提。在近现代，西方文化汲取中国文化，不仅是中国文化的传播，更是西方文化自身的创新和发展；正如中国文化对西方文化的汲取一样，既是西方文化在中国的传播，同时也是中国文化在近代的转型和发展。地球上所有的人类文化，都是我们共同的宝贵遗产。既然我们生活的各个大陆，在地球史上曾经是连成一气的“泛大陆”，或者说是一个完整的“地球村”，那么，我们同样可以在这个以知识和学习为特征的网络时代，走上相互学习、共同发展的大路，建设和开拓我们人类崭新的“地球村”。

西学仍在东渐，中学也将西传。各国人民的优秀文化正日益迅速地为中国文化所汲取，而无论西方和东方，也都需要从中国文化中汲取养分。正是基于这一认识，我们组织出版汉英对照版《大中华文库》，全面系统地翻译介绍中国传统文化典籍。我们试图通过《大中华文库》，向全世界展示，中华民族五千年的追求，五千年的梦想，正在新的历史时期重放光芒。中国人民就像火后的凤凰，万众一心，迎接新世纪文明的太阳。

1999 年 8 月 北京



PREFACE TO THE LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS

Yang Muzhi

The publication of the *Library of Chinese Classics* is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us who have been involved in the production of this monumental work. At the same time, we feel a weighty sense of responsibility, and take this opportunity to explain to our readers the motivation for undertaking this cross-century task.

1

The Chinese nation has a long history and a glorious culture, and it has been the aspiration of several generations of Chinese scholars to translate, edit and publish the whole corpus of the Chinese literary classics so that the nation's greatest cultural achievements can be introduced to people all over the world. There have been many translations of the Chinese classics done by foreign scholars. A few dozen years ago, a Western scholar translated the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* into "A Dream of Red Chambers" and Lin Daiyu, the heroine in the novel, into "Black Jade." But while their endeavours have been laudable, the results of their labours have been less than satisfactory. Lack of knowledge of Chinese culture and an inadequate grasp of the Chinese written language have led the translators into many errors. As a consequence, not only are Chinese classical writings widely misunderstood in the rest of the world, in some cases their content has actually been distorted. At one time, there was a "*Jin Ping Mei* craze" among Western scholars, who thought that they had uncovered a miraculous phenomenon, and published theories claiming that China was the "fountainhead of eroticism," and that a Chinese "tradition of permissiveness" was about to be laid bare. This distorted view came about due to the translators of the *Jin Ping Mei* (*Plum in the Golden Vase*) putting one-sided stress on the



raw elements in that novel, to the neglect of its overall literary value. Meanwhile, there have been many distinguished and well-intentioned Sinologists who have attempted to make the culture of the Chinese nation more widely known by translating works of ancient Chinese philosophy. However, the quality of such work, in many cases, is unsatisfactory, often missing the point entirely. The great philosopher Hegel considered that ancient China had no philosophy in the real sense of the word, being stuck in philosophical "prehistory." For such an eminent authority to make such a colossal error of judgment is truly regrettable. But, of course, Hegel was just as subject to the constraints of time, space and other objective conditions as anyone else, and since he had to rely for his knowledge of Chinese philosophy on inadequate translations it is not difficult to imagine why he went so far off the mark.

China cannot be separated from the rest of the world; and the rest of the world cannot ignore China. Throughout its history, Chinese civilization has enriched itself by absorbing new elements from the outside world, and in turn has contributed to the progress of world civilization as a whole by transmitting to other peoples its own cultural achievements. From the 5th to the 15th centuries, China marched in the front ranks of world civilization. If mankind wishes to advance, how can it afford to ignore China? How can it afford not to make a thoroughgoing study of its history?

2

Despite the ups and downs in their fortunes, the Chinese people have always been idealistic, and have never ceased to forge ahead and learn from others, eager to strengthen ties of peace and friendship.

The great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, "Wherever three persons come together, one of them will surely be able to teach me something. I will pick out his good points and emulate them; his bad points I will reform." Confucius meant by this that we should always be ready to learn from others. This maxim encapsulates the principle the Chinese people have always followed in their dealings with other peoples, not only on an individual basis but also at the level of state-to-state relations.

After generations of internecine strife, China was unified by Emperor



Qin Shi Huang (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) in 221 B.C. The Han Dynasty, which succeeded that of the short-lived Qin, waxed powerful, and for the first time brought China into contact with the outside world. In 138 B.C., Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the western regions, i.e. Central Asia. Zhang, who traveled as far as what is now Iran, took with him as presents for the rulers he visited on the way 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silks worth a fabulous amount. In 36 B.C., Ban Chao headed a 36-man legation to the western regions. These were missions of friendship to visit neighbours the Chinese people had never met before and to learn from them. Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to explore further toward the west. According to the "Western Regions Section" in the *Book of Later Han*, Gan Ying traveled across the territories of present-day Iraq and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean Sea, an expedition which brought him within the confines of the Roman Empire. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, the monk Xuan Zang made a journey fraught with danger to reach India and seek the knowledge of that land. Upon his return, he organized a team of scholars to translate the Buddhist scriptures, which he had brought back with him. As a result, many of these scriptural classics which were later lost in India have been preserved in China. In fact, it would have been difficult for the people of India to reconstruct their own ancient history if it had not been for Xuan Zang's *A Record of a Journey to the West in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty*. In the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He transmitted Chinese culture to Southeast Asia during his seven voyages. Following the Opium Wars in the mid-19th century, progressive Chinese, generation after generation, went to study the advanced scientific thought and cultural achievements of the Western countries. Their aim was to revive the fortunes of their own country. Among them were people who were later to become leaders of China, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In addition, there were people who were to become leading scientists, literary figures and artists, such as Guo Moruo, Li Siguang, Qian Xuesen, Xian Xinghai and Xu Beihong. Their spirit of ambition, their struggles and their breadth of vision were an inspiration not only to the Chinese people but to people all over the world.

Indeed, it is true that if the Chinese people had not learned many



things from the surrounding countries they would never have been able to produce the splendid achievements of former days. When we look back upon history, how can we not feel profoundly grateful for the legacies of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and India? How can we not feel fondness and respect for the cultures of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania?

The Chinese nation, in turn, has made unique contributions to the community of mankind. Prior to the 15th century, China led the world in science and technology. The British scientist Joseph Needham once said, "From the third century A.D. to the 13th century A.D. China was far ahead of the West in the level of its scientific knowledge." Paul Kennedy, of Yale University in the U.S., author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, said, "Of all the civilizations of the pre-modern period, none was as well-developed or as progressive as that of China."

Foreigners who came to China were often astonished at what they saw and heard. The Greek geographer Pausanias in the second century A.D. gave the first account in the West of the technique of silk production in China: "The Chinese feed a spider-like insect with millet and reeds. After five years the insect's stomach splits open, and silk is extracted therefrom." From this extract, we can see that the Europeans at that time did not know the art of silk manufacture. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., an Arabian writer includes the following anecdote in his *Account of China and India*:

"One day, an Arabian merchant called upon the military governor of Guangzhou. Throughout the meeting, the visitor could not keep his eyes off the governor's chest. Noticing this, the latter asked the Arab merchant what he was staring at. The merchant replied, 'Through the silk robe you are wearing, I can faintly see a black mole on your chest. Your robe must be made out of very fine silk indeed!' The governor burst out laughing, and holding out his sleeve invited the merchant to count how many garments he was wearing. The merchant did so, and discovered that the governor was actually wearing five silk robes, one on top of the other, and they were made of such fine material that a tiny mole could be seen through them all! Moreover, the governor explained that the robes he was wearing were not made of the finest silk at all; silk of the highest



grade was reserved for the garments worn by the provincial governor.”

The references to tea in this book (the author calls it “dried grass”) reveal that the custom of drinking tea was unknown in the Arab countries at that time: “The king of China’s revenue comes mainly from taxes on salt and the dry leaves of a kind of grass which is drunk after boiled water is poured on it. This dried grass is sold at a high price in every city in the country. The Chinese call it ‘cha.’ The bush is like alfalfa, except that it bears more leaves, which are also more fragrant than alfalfa. It has a slightly bitter taste, and when it is infused in boiling water it is said to have medicinal properties.”

Foreign visitors showed especial admiration for Chinese medicine. One wrote, “China has very good medical conditions. Poor people are given money to buy medicines by the government.”

In this period, when Chinese culture was in full bloom, scholars flocked from all over the world to China for sightseeing and for study. Chang’an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty was host to visitors from as far away as the Byzantine Empire, not to mention the neighboring countries of Asia. Chang’an, at that time the world’s greatest metropolis, was packed with thousands of foreign dignitaries, students, diplomats, merchants, artisans and entertainers. Japan especially sent contingent after contingent of envoys to the Tang court. Worthy of note are the accounts of life in Chang’an written by Abeno Nakamaro, a Japanese scholar who studied in China and had close friendships with ministers of the Tang court and many Chinese scholars in a period of over 50 years. The description throws light on the exchanges between Chinese and foreigners in this period. When Abeno was supposedly lost at sea on his way back home, the leading poet of the time, Li Bai, wrote a eulogy for him.

The following centuries saw a steady increase in the accounts of China written by Western visitors. The Italian Marco Polo described conditions in China during the Yuan Dynasty in his *Travels*. However, until advances in the science of navigation led to the opening of east-west shipping routes at the beginning of the 16th century Sino-Western cultural exchanges were coloured by fantasy and conjecture. Concrete progress was made when a contingent of religious missionaries, men well versed in Western science and technology, made their way to China, ushering in an era of



direct contacts between China and the West. The experience of this era was embodied in the career of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Arriving in China in 1582, Ricci died in Beijing in 1610. Apart from his missionary work, Ricci accomplished two historically symbolic tasks — one was the translation into Latin of the “Four Books,” together with annotations, in 1594; the other was the translation into Chinese of Euclid’s *Elements*.

The rough translations of the “Four Books” and other Chinese classical works by Western missionaries, and the publication of Père du Halde’s *Description Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l’Empire de la Chine* revealed an exotic culture to Western readers, and sparked a “China fever,” during which the eyes of many Western intellectuals were fixed on China. Some of these intellectuals, including Leibniz, held China in high esteem; others, such as Hegel, nursed a critical attitude toward Chinese culture. Leibniz considered that some aspects of Chinese thought were close to his own views, such as the philosophy of the *Book of Changes* and his own binary system. Hegel, on the other hand, as mentioned above, considered that China had developed no proper philosophy of its own. Nevertheless, no matter whether the reaction was one of admiration, criticism, acceptance or rejection, Sino-Western exchanges were of great significance. The transmission of advanced Chinese science and technology to the West, especially the Chinese inventions of paper-making, gunpowder, printing and the compass, greatly changed the face of the whole world. Karl Marx said, “Chinese gunpowder blew the feudal class of knights to smithereens; the compass opened up world markets and built colonies; and printing became an implement of Protestantism and the most powerful lever and necessary precondition for intellectual development and creation.” The English philosopher Roger Bacon said that China’s four great inventions had “changed the face of the whole world and the state of affairs of everything.”

3

Ancient China gave birth to a large number of eminent scientists, such as Zu Chongzhi, Li Shizhen, Sun Simiao, Zhang Heng, Shen Kuo and Bi



Sheng. They produced numerous treatises on scientific subjects, including *The Manual of Important Arts for the People's Welfare*, *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art*, *A Treatise on Febrile Diseases* and *Compendium of Materia Medica*. Their accomplishments included ones whose influence has been felt right down to modern times, such as the armillary sphere, seismograph, Dujiangyan water conservancy project, Dunhuang Grottoes, Grand Canal and Great Wall. But from the latter part of the 15th century, and for the next 400 years, Europe gradually became the cultural centre upon which the world's eyes were fixed. The world's most outstanding scientists then were England's Isaac Newton, Poland's Copernicus, France's Marie Curie, Germany's Rontgen and Einstein, Italy's Galileo, Russia's Mendeleev and America's Edison.

The Chinese people then began to think: What is the cause of the rise and fall of nations? Moreover, how did it happen that gunpowder, invented in China and transmitted to the West, in no time at all made Europe powerful enough to batter down the gates of China herself?

It took the Opium War to wake China from its reverie. The first generation to make the bold step of "turning our eyes once again to the rest of the world" was represented by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang started the Westernization Movement, and later intellectuals raised the slogan of "Democracy and Science." Noble-minded patriots, realizing that China had fallen behind in the race for modernization, set out on a painful quest. But in backwardness lay the motivation for change, and the quest produced the embryo of a towering hope, and the Chinese people finally gathered under a banner proclaiming a "March Toward Science."

On the threshold of the 21st century, the world is moving in the direction of becoming an integrated entity. This trend is becoming clearer by the day. In fact, the history of the various peoples of the world is also becoming the history of mankind as a whole. Today, it is impossible for any nation's culture to develop without absorbing the excellent aspects of the cultures of other peoples. When Western culture absorbs aspects of Chinese culture, this is not just because it has come into contact with Chinese culture, but also because of the active creativity and development of Western culture itself; and vice versa. The various cultures of



the world's peoples are a precious heritage which we all share. Mankind no longer lives on different continents, but on one big continent, or in a "global village." And so, in this era characterized by an all-encompassing network of knowledge and information we should learn from each other and march in step along the highway of development to construct a brand-new "global village."

Western learning is still being transmitted to the East, and vice versa. China is accelerating its pace of absorption of the best parts of the cultures of other countries, and there is no doubt that both the West and the East need the nourishment of Chinese culture. Based on this recognition, we have edited and published the *Library of Chinese Classics* in a Chinese-English format as an introduction to the corpus of traditional Chinese culture in a comprehensive and systematic translation. Through this collection, our aim is to reveal to the world the aspirations and dreams of the Chinese people over the past 5,000 years and the splendour of the new historical era in China. Like a phoenix rising from the ashes, the Chinese people in unison are welcoming the cultural sunrise of the new century.

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前言

《史记》是中国“二十四史”中的第一部，也是中国史书中最具典范性、最优秀的一部。它是以纪传体的形式写出的一部从中国的五帝时期到汉武帝后期（约公元前100年左右）的上下三千年的历史。这部优秀的史书，不仅内容记述真实可信，而且文笔出色、人物形象生动，因此流传至今两千多年仍然成为中国文化人必读的不朽著作。

一

《史记》的作者是司马迁，西汉左冯翊夏阳（今陕西韩城）人，他生活在西汉景帝（公元前156年—前140年在位）到武帝（公元前140年—前86年在位）时期。他的具体的生年和卒年在《史记·太史公自序》和《汉书·司马迁传》中都没有记载，故对此历代学者说法不一。1916年，王国维发表《太史公系年考略》一文，对司马迁的生卒年进行了详细考证，认为司马迁生于景帝中元五年（公元前145年），而司马迁卒年“绝不可考”。

司马迁在《史记·太史公自序》中追述了司马氏世系。司马氏为史官世家，司马迁的父亲司马谈在汉武帝时任太史令，一心想继孔子之后，仿效《春秋》，完成一部贯通古今的大典。汉武帝元封元年（公元前110年），司马谈跟随武帝封禅泰山，到洛阳病倒，临终留下遗言，用“世典周史”的家世来教育和



激励司马迁担负起历史的使命，要司马迁继承自己的事业和理想，继任太史令，完成通史著作。司马迁决心完成父亲遗愿，修旧起废，完成史书的写作。在《太史公自序》中，司马迁对此有感人的描述。司马谈开始酝酿写史是在武帝元狩元年（公元前122年），至其去世的武帝元封元年（公元前110年）共12年的时间，司马谈作史应该有了相当的规模，或者可能已写成若干篇章。唐刘知几《史通·古今正史》中讲：“孝武之世，太史公司马谈，欲错综古今，勒成一史，其意未就而卒，子迁乃述父遗志”，宋郑樵《通志·总序》中也提到“司马谈有其书而司马迁能成其父志”，所以从某种意义上讲，《史记》是司马谈、司马迁父子两代人毕生心血的结晶。

司马迁幼年耕读于故里，19岁随家徙茂陵，入京师长安。汉武帝元朔三年（公元前126年），司马迁20岁时，正当盛壮之年，怀抱凌云之志，他走出书斋，进行了一次足迹遍布大江南北的全国漫游，在实地考察中追寻前代先贤的足迹，考察风俗，网罗天下放失旧闻。他上会稽，探禹穴，窥九嶷，搜集有关五帝三代的古史传说；到临淄、曲阜，观孔子之遗风；浮于沅、湘，感念屈原的遭遇和为人。他还在秦汉之际风起云涌的历史人物的故乡，作深入细致的寻访和调查，获得了很多书本上没有的鲜活的史料，如陈涉年少时胸怀鸿鹄之志，韩信贫居却葬母高敞地，刘邦为亭长时好酒及色等都是他在游历中获得的第一手资料，而这些又变成了《史记》中精彩的记述。司马迁20岁时这次壮游，不仅使他获得了广博的社会知识，搜求了遗文古事，而且开阔了视野，扩展了胸怀，增长了见识和才干，这也是《史记》成功的条件之一。

其后，司马迁29岁前后入侍为郎中。在武帝元鼎六年



(公元前111年)奉使西征巴、蜀以南的广大西南夷地区,其后,又随从武帝巡行郡县,祭祀名山大川,在感受武帝雄才大略和汉王朝威武雄壮的气势的同时,也激发起司马迁心中渴望建功立业的无限豪情。汉武帝元封三年(公元前108年)司马迁继父职任太史令。西汉太史令司天官之职,掌管图籍和宫中档案,并参与重大制度的兴革及各种典礼仪节,这给司马迁修史提供了有利的条件。太初元年(公元前104年),司马迁与唐都、落下闳等共同制定了太初历,汉武帝颁布了新的历法,并改年号为太初。改历是封禅活动的继续,封禅象征着新王朝受命于天地,而改历则象征着受命的完成。司马迁躬逢其事,激动不已,想到父亲的嘱托,全面开始了《史记》的编次和写作。

正当司马迁抓紧进行《史记》的写作时,却突然飞来横祸:武帝天汉三年(公元前98年)司马迁48岁,受李陵案的牵连下狱受刑。李陵是汉代名将李广的孙子,谦虚下士,在武帝天汉二年(公元前99年)协助贰师将军李广利出兵攻打匈奴时,在敌我兵力相差悬殊,寡不敌众的情况下,激战十几天,弹尽粮绝,全军覆没,迫不得已投降了匈奴。朝臣们阿谀逢迎讳言作为武帝宠姬李夫人哥哥的贰师将军李广利的过失,把战败的责任全推到李陵身上。司马迁对李陵的遭遇充满了同情,对武帝坦率地表达了自己的观点,因此受牵连被判“诬罔”罪受腐刑。奇耻大辱使司马迁思想发生重大转变,他想到自己所肩负的历史使命,从个人的悲怨中解脱出来,他以前代先贤的事迹来勉励自己,将自己全部精力和热血倾注于《史记》之中,忍辱著书。他在《报任安书》中讲:“古者富贵而名磨灭,不可胜记,唯倜傥非常之人称焉。盖西伯拘而演《周易》,仲尼厄



而作《春秋》，屈原放逐，乃赋《离骚》，左丘失明，厥有《国语》，孙子膑脚，兵法修列，不韦迁蜀，世传《吕览》，韩非囚秦，《说难》、《孤愤》。《诗》三百篇，大抵贤圣发愤之所为作也。此人皆意有所郁结，不得通其道，故述往事，思来者。及如左丘明无目，孙子断足，终不可用，退论书策以舒其愤，思垂空文以自见。仆窃不逊，近自托于无能之辞，网罗天下放失旧闻，考之行事，稽其成败兴坏之理，凡百三十篇，亦欲以究天人之际，通古今之变，成一家之言。”李陵之祸，直接影响到《史记》的写作，在面对生死的思考与抉择中，悟出了人生的真正价值，司马迁从悲痛中奋起，用更加坚忍的毅力来完成《史记》，同时司马迁抒愤寄托，勇敢地揭露和抨击统治者的荒淫和横暴，热情地歌颂敢于反抗、敢于斗争的历史人物，深切地同情社会的下层百姓，强烈地表达他的是非观点和爱恨感情，从而隐忍发愤，完成了《史记》的写作，也使《史记》的主题得到了升华。

二

司马迁在《太史公自序》和《报任安书》中都明确揭示了《史记》的著述宗旨，概括而言，可总结为“究天人之际，通古今之变，成一家之言”。所谓“究天人之际”，是要探索宇宙自然与人生的关系，“通古今之变”，是要总结兴衰成败的历史经验，“成一家之言”，是司马迁以自己的世界观和历史观为出发点，在实录历史的基础上，选择、剪裁、提炼和组织材料，表明自己对历史事实的认识和看法。以此为出发点，《史记》广泛取材，“厥协六经异传，整齐百家杂语”，融会百家学说于一编。司马迁作史，不是简单地汇抄历史资料和堆积历



史事实，而是要在史书中阐明自己的思想和理想。他在《太史公自序》中指出，《春秋》大义就在于“上明三王之道，下辨人事之纪，别嫌疑，明是非，定犹豫，善善恶恶，贤贤贱不肖，存亡国，继绝世，补弊起废，王道之大者也”，即要起到劝善惩恶，规范社会秩序的作用。以此为指导思想，司马迁通过创造性的劳动，使六经异传和百家杂语中那些对立矛盾的史料得到了协调，把零散的史料贯穿成完整的系统，将《史记》这样一部前所未有的通史呈现在世人面前。

在《史记》之前，《尚书》、《春秋》、《左传》、《国语》、《战国策》等史书所记载的史事范围较狭窄，且各史所记只是一段时代的史事，没有一部贯通古今的史书全面地记述历史。《史记》是中国第一部纪传体通史，记述了上起黄帝，下迄汉武帝几千年间的历史，司马迁把历史撰述从狭小的天地引向了广阔无垠的大千世界。《史记》涵盖上下几千年，包罗社会生活各方面，脉络分明，而又融会贯通。司马迁首创纪传体体例，《史记》全书130篇，由五部分组成，即十二本纪、十表、八书、三十世家和七十列传。十二本纪用编年的形式来记载帝王的言行，反映朝代变迁的大势，是全书的纲领所载。十表是联系纪传的桥梁，用表格的形式把纷繁的历史内容纳入尺幅之中，用寓繁于简的形式，勾勒出历史的轮廓及发展的主要线索。八书则是从礼、乐、律、历、天官、封禅、河渠、平准八个方面，分专题载述司马迁认为的经国大政，是按专题叙述发展及源流的文化专史。三十世家也是像本纪一样按年月编年记事，主要是给诸侯王作传。七十列传则是以专传、合传、类传、附传等形式给上至公卿大臣下至平民百姓的社会各阶层的人士作传。

《史记》五体，都是以人为中心，涵盖了社会全方位的人

物与生活。虽然《史记》五体所记内容各有规定和侧重，但司马迁并没有完全被体制所约束，而是根据历史发展的实际情况而安排。如项羽没做皇帝，而《史记》中将项羽列入本纪，是因为项羽在反秦斗争中发挥了巨大作用，是促使秦王朝最终灭亡的关键人物，《史记》将其列入本纪，是对秦末历史的如实记载。司马迁在《项羽本纪》中热情歌颂了项羽在反秦斗争中的丰功伟绩，反复强调项羽有灭秦之功，为刘邦统一天下奠定了基石，既真实反映了当时的历史状况，也提示后人项羽虽是一位失败的英雄，但是不能低估他的历史作用。而对于在秦朝末年首先揭竿而起推翻秦王朝的陈涉，司马迁破例作了《陈涉世家》，表彰他的发难之功。《史记》根据历史人物在历史上的实际地位和作用来安排相应的纪、传篇章来记述，而不完全拘泥于名号的限制。换句话说，就是史书的体例要适应记述历史的需要，是更好地再现历史原貌的方式和手段。

在《史记》五体中，以七十列传的内容最为生动活泼，丰富多彩。除了活跃于历史舞台的政治家、军事家、思想家及各种英雄豪杰外，处在社会下层的巫卜、商贾、俳优、妇女等也都被收入书中，由于体例完备，在有限的篇幅内，将政治、经济、文化、学术、民族、社会以及自然的星象、历法全部包含其中，并很有条理地反映出来。《史记》不仅将社会各阶层的人物写入历史，而且首创各民族史传，如《匈奴列传》、《南越列传》、《东越列传》、《朝鲜列传》、《西南夷列传》等，这也是当时大一统思想的体现。司马迁创立的五种体裁相互配合，相得益彰，融合为一个统一的整体，从而可以在史书中容纳丰富的历史素材，使《史记》具有了百科全书的性质。

司马迁创纪传体，既避免了编年体史书人物活动受限制的



缺陷，也弥补了国别体史书空间上的缺失，能够全面地记叙人物一生的活动，并通过一个个人物的传记勾勒出人类历史发展的进程。此后，首先是班彪、班固父子仿效《史记》作《汉书》，继承并完善了司马迁草创的纪传体史书体例。后代史书纷纷也继承和学习纪传体。唐朝建立后，朝廷极为重视修纪传体史书，将其定为正史，并开设史馆大修前代国史。自此纪传体成为修史正宗，具有至高无上的地位。以后历代建国之后，都开史馆修前朝历史，前后相继，留下了一套贯通中华民族五千年文明的“二十四史”，《史记》居其首，成为纪传体史书的鼻祖和后代史书效法的典范。

三

《史记》不仅在史学史上具有极重要的地位，同时，它也是中国传记文学的开端，取得了令人瞩目的文学成就。

《史记》全书记载了4000多个人物，立传的人物有100多位。司马迁写历史人物，不是记流水帐，而是选取典型的事迹来突出人物的特点，因此，笔下的人物个性鲜明，呼之欲出，《史记》的传记也成为中国古代文学史上传记文学的典范。司马迁以人物为中心写历史，使社会各阶层的人物都能在《史记》中找到自己的影子，以此来寓褒贬，别嫌疑，明是非。历史与文学的统一也是《史记》长盛不衰的原因之一，所以鲁迅先生评价《史记》为“史家之绝唱，无韵之离骚”。司马迁笔下的历史人物，一个个栩栩如生，形象鲜明，使读者如闻其声，如见其人，各色人物都跃然纸上，给人留下了极深刻的印象。所以《史记》一直被公认为传记文学的优秀作品，唐宋八大家掀起古文运动，就以司马迁为旗帜，将《史记》作为汉代散文



的典范来追慕学习和推崇。

司马迁运用各种文学手法来塑造人物，塑造了一系列家喻户晓的人物形象。例如，司马迁常常通过典型的细节描写来刻画人物形象，展现人物的精神风貌，如《陈涉世家》中的陈涉佣耕叹息，《留侯世家》中的张良为圯上老人进履，《酷吏列传》中张汤幼年审盗肉之鼠。这些生动活泼的细节描写使一个个鲜活的历史人物形象跃然纸上。此外，司马迁还善于铺写矛盾集中、尖锐的场面。如《刺客列传》中写荆轲离燕入秦，燕太子丹为之送行的场面：“太子及宾客知其事者，皆白衣冠以送之。至易水之上，既祖，取道，高渐离击筑，荆轲和而歌，为变徵之声，士皆垂泪涕泣。又前而为歌曰：‘风萧萧兮易水寒，壮士一去兮不复还！’复为羽声慷慨，士皆瞋目，发尽上指冠。于是荆轲就车而去，终已不顾。”将易水送别的场面铺陈得惊心动魄，慷慨淋漓，使得荆轲视死如归、顶天立地的勇士形象直到今天还有振奋人心的感染力。注意人物的心理描写也是司马迁塑造人物的重要手段，他经常用一两个表示心理状态的动词，直接揭示人物的内心世界。如《司马相如列传》写卓文君偷听相如弹琴“心悦而好之，恐不得当也”。用“悦”、“好”、“恐”三个字，把卓文君又喜又爱又愁的复杂心理活动描绘得清清楚楚。此外，司马迁还运用了外貌描写、语言描写、对比描写、夸张描写等写人手法塑造出一道至今仍焕发着动人异彩的历史人物的画廊。

从这些人物描写中我们可以看到，司马迁在实录历史的同时有文学创作的成分，即金圣叹所说的“以文运事”，也就是说司马迁不是单纯的史笔记事，而是史笔与文笔交融。单纯的史笔，记事如断烂朝报，记人只记事迹功状，如同履历表。这



种档案历史没有文采与文学，是无法广泛流传的。清章学诚《文史通义·史德》中讲：“史所载者事也，事必藉文而传”，“史之赖于文也，犹衣之需乎采，食之需乎味”，司马迁自己所说的“鄙没世而文采不表于后”，也是这个意思。司马迁写人，在实录的基础上进行了形象化的塑造，在写人物事迹的同时也写出了人物的性格和灵魂，寄托了司马迁本人的爱恨情感。《史记》中很多写得很成功的人物，超越了历史人物本身的价值而成为千古传颂的文学人物。所以司马迁不仅是伟大的历史学家，而且是伟大的文学家。明代的茅坤这样评论《史记》：“读游侠传即欲轻生，读屈原、贾谊传即欲流涕，读庄周、鲁仲连传即欲遗世，读李广传即欲立斗，读石建传即欲俯躬，读信陵、平原君传即欲养士。”茅坤这段话形象地描画了《史记》感人至深的艺术魅力。

《史记》集先秦散文之大成，作为历史散文，它一方面坚持“不虚美，不隐恶”的实录精神，一方面运用多种手法从细处对人物加以描绘和渲染，在尊重历史真实的基础上，往往对细节进行合乎逻辑的虚构。同时他又将其“爱奇”的思想运用于《史记》的选材和叙事中，将其丰富的爱憎情感融于人物刻画之中，从而使整部《史记》充满了传奇色彩和悲剧色彩。《史记》中保留了大量的古代神话故事，汉魏六朝志怪小说的出现，与《史记》有直接的关系，而且中国古典小说的写作方法及刻画人物的手法等方面都受到了《史记》直接或间接的影响。司马迁的“发愤著书”说，也对后代产生了深远的影响。唐宋八大家中韩愈提出的“不平则鸣”的文学主张，欧阳修提出“诗穷而后工”的观点，这些都是对司马迁“发愤著书”说的继承和发展。

四

《史记》原名《太史公书》，西汉时多沿用此称，所以《汉书·艺文志》在“春秋类”中著录“《太史公》百三十篇”，大约到东汉桓灵年间（147年—189年），才更名为《史记》。

《史记》流传到今天的两千多年间，出现了众多的写本和刻本。目前两汉的旧本已无存，魏晋南北朝至隋唐的抄本也仅存断简残篇，今天所能看到的宋代以来的各种刻本约有60种左右。1959年中华书局以清同治年间（1862年—1875年）金陵书局刊行的《史记集解索隐正义合刻本》为底本，并参考了凌稚隆的《史记评林》、吴见思的《史记论文》，以及吴汝纶点勘本等的句读，对《史记》原文和三家注作了全新的断句、标点、分段，是目前最便于阅读的《史记》读本，现已重印多次，每次重印都订正一些错误，日益完善。本书共选入《史记》中故事性强、文笔灿烂的作品共31篇，古文整理过程中就参照《史记集解索隐正义合刻本》等多种版本，并且重点参照了中华书局1959年版《史记》。

对《史记》的注释整理始于东汉，其后一直绵延不断。隋唐之际，著家蜂起，各种《史记》注释之作有数十种，但这些《史记》注释之作，大多都先后亡佚了，保存至今的只有南朝刘宋裴骃的《史记集解》、唐司马贞的《史记索隐》，以及唐张守节的《史记正义》，这三家注释原本各自单行，北宋时才将这三家注释合刻，散列在《史记》正文下，称为“史记三家注”。前代学者的注释和研究成果，为今天的《史记》研究者提供了宝贵的资料。

《史记》流传到国外的具体时间已难以稽考，据唐初李延



寿所撰《北史》卷94《高丽传》记载，唐以前包括《史记》在内的三史就已传播到高丽即今天的朝鲜了。而大约在唐代时，《史记》也传播到了日本，并受到了重视和喜爱。据日本史书记载，甚至日本天皇都非常喜爱阅读《史记》。对《史记》的喜爱，使《史记》的研究在日本也取得了很高的成就，日本的《史记》研究专家约有120多人，研究专著和译著约680多种，而其中影响最大的是由泷川资言编著、汇集日中两国近百家学者《史记》研究成果、集前代《史记》注释考证成果之大成的《史记会注考证》，可以说是继《史记》“三家注”后又一部全面注释考证《史记》之作，是《史记》研究者的案头必备之书。

除日本、韩国之外，《史记》在欧美也受到了不同程度的重视。近年来，法国巴黎成立了海外第一个专门的《史记》研究机构——《史记》研究中心，对《史记》在欧洲的传播起了推动作用。在美国，威斯康辛大学的郑再发、倪豪仕教授等正在进行《史记》的翻译和注释工作。海外学者所做的这些工作都大大促进了《史记》在海外的传播，扩大了《史记》的影响。

在中国传统文化典籍中，《史记》堪称精品，司马迁以崇高的人格、坚强的毅力和卓越的史才，完成了《史记》这样一部体系完整、规模宏大、见识超群的历史巨著，《史记》的体大思精使它堪称为古代的百科全书。它有着取之不尽的思想源泉，具有无限的凝聚力，生命之树常青。两千多年来，不可胜记的中外学者对《史记》进行了学习和研究，并给予《史记》很高的评价，现当代的《史记》研究更是蒸蒸日上，硕果累累。

外文出版社出版《史记选》的中英对照读本，对扩大《史记》在海外的影响将起到很好的推动作用。

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INTRODUCTION

The *Records of the Historian* stands first among the Twenty-four Histories, official chronicles of China from remote antiquity to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). It is regarded as the most representative and outstanding of all history books in the Chinese tradition. In the form of a series of biographies, the book records the history of China from the Five Legendary Rulers Period (c. 30th century-c. 21st century BC) to around 100 BC, under the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-25 AD). For over 2,000 years, the *Records of the Historian* has been praised for its accuracy, lofty style and vivid characterization. It is still a necessary companion for Chinese intellectuals and students of Chinese history today.

I

The *Records of the Historian* was written by Sima Qian, who was born in Xiayang (present-day Hancheng, Shaanxi Province) in the Western Han Dynasty. He lived in the reigns of Emperor Jing (r. 156-140 BC) and Emperor Wu (r. 140-86 BC). No record of the dates of his birth or death can be found in the “Autobiographic Note” of the *Records of the Historian* or “Biography of Sima Qian” of the *History of the Han Dynasty*, and scholars of different generations have had different opinions. In 1916, Wang Guowei published an essay — *Textual Research on the Dates of the Birth and Death of Sima Qian* — postulating that the historian was born in 145 BC (the fifth year of the Zhongyuan reign period of Emperor Jing). However, Wang has no theory about the date of Sima Qian’s death.

In the “Autobiographic Note”, Sima Qian reviews the lineage of his



family, an eminent line of historiographers. His father, Sima Tan, was the Grand Astrologer at the court of Emperor Wu. Sima Tan conceived the ambition of writing a historic work in the vein of the venerable *Spring and Autumn Annals* (attributed to the sage Confucius, some 400 years earlier). He embarked on this monumental task, but died in 110 BC, with little apparently accomplished. In the "Autobiographic Note", Sima Qian describes how his father's dying wish was that his son succeed him as Grand Astrologer and complete the work.

The *Critique of Historical Works* by Liu Zhiji (661-721) of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and the *Historical Collections* by Zheng Qiao (1103-1162) of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) both describe how Sima Qian inherited his father's ambition, and thus the *Records of the Historian* can be considered the lifetime work of both Sima Tan and Sima Qian.

Sima Qian studied in his hometown in his childhood, moved to Maoling with his family at the age of 19, and then moved to Chang'an, capital of the Han Dynasty. In 126 BC, when Sima Qian was 20 years old, he started a nationwide tour, following in the footsteps of wise men of previous dynasties. He examined local customs and collected anecdotes from around the country. He visited Mount Huiji (said to have been the birthplace of the legendary ruler King Yu, the tamer of the floods) and Mount Jiuyi to learn about the "five legendary rulers" (Huangdi, Zhuanxu, Ku, Yao and Shun) and the three earliest dynasties [Xia (2070-1600 BC), Shang (1600-1046 BC) and Zhou (1046-256 BC)]; went to Linzi and Qufu, places hallowed in the Confucian tradition; and sailed on the Yuanjiang and Xiangjiang rivers to muse on the tragic fate of the poet Qu Yuan. He also traveled to the native places of many historic figures (including Chen She, Han Xin and Liu Bang) who lived during the chaotic period that saw the fall of the Qin (221-206 BC) and the rise of the Han dynasties. During his travels, Sima Qian obtained a wealth of materials unrecorded in books, which he used to enliven the descriptions of historical figures and events in the *Records of the Histo-*



rian.

Sima Qian was given a court position at around the age of 29. In 111 BC, he was sent as an envoy to the vast area of the southwest, at that time mainly peopled by ethnic minorities. Later, he accompanied Emperor Wu on an inspection tour of the central counties, where the emperor offered sacrifices to Heaven on Mount Tai and to Earth on Mount Liangfu.

In 108 BC, Sima Qian inherited his father's position as the Grand Astrologer. In the Western Han Dynasty this official, apart from his other duties, was in charge of the palace archives, and so Sima Qian was in an ideal position to compile his history.

Although busy with his duties and his life's work, Sima Qian could not escape the net of court intrigue. In 98 BC, at the age of 48, he spoke in defense of General Li Ling, who had capitulated to the Xiongnu (Hun) barbarian invaders after losing almost all his troops. The imperial wrath spread to the Grand Astrologer; as a punishment, Sima Qian was jailed and castrated.

This ordeal, however, did not sway him from his historic mission. He took comfort from the examples of wise men of old, and upon his release devoted himself once more to his book. He said in the *Letter to Ren An*: "Numerous wealthy and influential people in ancient times went unrecorded; only outstanding figures were praised by later generations. In prison King Wen compiled the *Book of Changes*; Confucius wrote the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in his days of obscurity; Qu Yuan composed *Parting Sorrows* while languishing in exile; Zuo Qiuming wrote the *Historical Anecdotes* despite having had his eyes put out; Sun Zi wrote the *Art of War* after having had his feet cut off; Lü Buwei wrote the *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* while banished to the wilds of Sichuan; and Han Fei wrote the *On Persuading the Ruler* and *Solitary Indignation* as a hostage in the State of Qin. Moreover, the 300 poems of the *Book of Songs* were mostly created by men of virtue to overcome their anxiety and anger in times of adversity.



Heavy-hearted and anguished, and thwarted in their personal ambitions, they transmitted the deeds of the past to express their feelings to the coming generations. I likewise have devoted myself to collecting neglected historical documents and anecdotes of outstanding figures of history, and tried to understand the reasons for their success or failure."

His sufferings made Sima Qian ponder the real value of a person's life. Shaking off grief, he resumed work on his book with renewed energy. In the *Records of the Historian*, he boldly exposes and attacks dissipated and tyrannical rulers, praises with zeal historic figures who dared to resist oppression and wrongdoing, and shows sympathy for the common people.

II

Sima Qian makes clear his purpose in writing his *magnum opus* in the "Autobiographic Note" and *Letter to Ren An* as to "explore the relationship between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Man, have a thorough understanding of the course of historical development and the changes involved therein, expound my own opinions of the events of the past and present my own system of analysis." In other words, he strove to, first, explore the relationship between the universe, nature and man; second, to summarize historical experiences and the lessons to be drawn from successes and failures; and, third, express the views of Sima Qian himself about historical events, by selecting, refining, distilling and organizing materials on the basis of faithfully recording historical facts, rather than simply copying historical documents and piling up facts. With these aims, Sima Qian drew extensively on historical materials, coordinating varied texts in the Six Classics (*Book of Songs*, *Book of History*, *Book of Rites*, *Book of Music*, *Book of Changes* and *Spring and Autumn Annals*) and integrating different schools of thought. Moreover, he points out in the "Autobiographic Note" that he followed the lead of the compiler of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, whose aim was to "encourage virtue, punish evil and regulate the social order."



With this as the guiding principle, Sima Qian combined with his creative work historical materials from the Six Classics and of numerous schools of thought, he linked scattered historical materials into a complete system. By so doing, Sima Qian completed an unprecedented general history of his country.

Previous history books, such as the *Book of History*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Zuo Qiuming's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Historical Anecdotes* and *Intrigues of the Warring States*, recorded selected events taken from comparatively narrow periods of history. The *Records of the Historian* was the first general history in the form of a series of biographies to appear in China, recording all that was known at that time of historical events from Huangdi in prehistoric times to the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. The 130 chapters are divided into five categories: 12 chapters of *Benji* (biographies of prominent rulers), ten chapters of *Biao* (timelines of events), eight chapters of *Shu* (governance and cultural records), 30 chapters of *Shijia* (biographies of dukes and princes), and 70 chapters of *Liezhuan* (biographies of important figures). The *Benji* record the words and deeds of kings and emperors in chronological order, reflecting the trends of dynastic changes. The *Biao* give the historical and developmental outlines in tabular form. The *Shu* record the development of what Sima Qian considered important governance in eight aspects, including rituals, music, law and the calendar. The *Shijia* are mainly biographies of dukes or princes in chronological order. The *Liezhuan* are accounts of people of different social strata, from ministers and officials to commoners, in the forms of special biography, joint biography, categorized biography and attached biography.

Sima Qian was not hidebound by these categories, but judged his subjects by their historical importance. For example, Xiang Yu failed to make himself emperor, but Sima Qian includes him in the *Benji*, because Xiang Yu played a significant role in the overthrow of the Qin Dynasty, and Sima



Qian bestows great praise on him, making it clear that he regarded him as having been worthy of the throne. Another rebel against the Qin Dynasty, Chen She, is included in the *Shijia* section, as a mark of approval, although his personal status would seem to disqualify him from such august company.

The 70 chapters of the *Liezhuan* section are the most vivid. In addition to statesmen, strategists, thinkers and heroes active on the historical stage, these chapters also include lower-class people such as wizards, fortune-tellers, traders and entertainers.

The *Records of the Historian* is also a mine of information on the various ethnic minorities living in the north, south, east and west of China, including the Xiongnu nomads and the Koreans, intimating that the concept of great national unity was already forming in the historian's time.

In the *Records of the Historian*, Sima Qian created a brand-new, almost encyclopedic, style of bringing history to life, avoiding the dry pedestrian style of the traditional chronicles, in which the actors in events are little more than names and scarcely come across as human. The work had a profound influence on later historiography in China. In particular, Ban Biao and his son Ban Gu wrote their *History of the Han Dynasty* closely following the biographical style of the *Records of the Historian*. And from the Tang Dynasty up to the 20th century, the *Records of the Historian* served as the model for all official histories.

III

Over 4,000 historical figures appear in the *Records of the Historian*, with complete biographies of more than 100 of them. In fact, Sima Qian treats these actors as the focus around which historical dramas swirl. Moreover, he does not hesitate to bestow praise and blame, making the work a combination of history and didactic literature. This is one of the reasons for the constant popularity of the *Records of the Historian* down



the ages. The Eight Famous Scholars of the Tang and Song dynasties who campaigned for the Classical Prose Movement, which sought a return to a simpler, more vivid style of writing, took the *Records of the Historian* as a model of Han Dynasty prose.

Sima Qian uses various literary techniques to make his protagonists come alive. For example, he often uses a small detail to highlight a person's character; for instance, Chen She sighing when resting from his labors, Zhang Liang putting on a shoe for an old man, and Zhang Tang interrogating a rat which had stolen his meat when he was a little boy. The historian can also wax lyrical when describing dramatic moments. In *The Assassins*, Sima Qian describes the scene when Jing Ke leaves on his deadly mission, as if he himself had witnessed it: "The prince and those who knew of the plan, dressed in white mourning clothes, escorted him to the River Yi, where they sacrificed to the god of the roads before he began his journey. Gao Jianli played the guitar, and Jing Ke sang a plaintive air which moved all who heard it to tears. Then he stepped forward and chanted, 'The wind is wailing, cold the River Yi. And a hero sets forth, never to return.' After this he sang a stirring, martial air, which made their eyes bulge with anger and their hair stand on end. Then he mounted his carriage and drove off without further ado." Psychological description is another important way of portraying inner motivations. When Zhuo Wenjun eavesdrops as Sima Xiangru plays the zither, she is "happy" and "loves" it, but she is "afraid" that it is not appropriate. The three words make clear Zhuo Wenjun's mental confusion. Other devices Sima Qian uses are appearance description, language description, contrast and exaggeration to create a gallery of vivid historical figures.

From these character descriptions, we can see that Sima Qian integrated literary creation with the historical record, as Jin Shengtan (1608-1661, a Chinese writer, editor and critic) put it: "recording events with literary grace." In his book *The General Meaning of Literature and His-*



tory, Zhang Xuecheng of the Qing Dynasty said, "History books record events, and events must be passed down by means of literature," and "History depends on literature, just as clothes need color and food needs taste." However, Sima Qian did not simply let his imagination run riot when describing the words and feelings of the characters in the *Records of the Historian*. He stuck to the principle of "no beautification, and no concealment"; that is, he constructed his portraits on the basis of a faithful record of the historical facts as far as he was able to ascertain them.

Another valuable contribution of the *Records of the Historian* to Chinese culture is marked by the inclusion of a large number of ancient myths and legends, which inspired people of later dynasties to record legends and tales of the supernatural. Moreover, the book influenced, in a direct or indirect way, the writing techniques and characterization of later classical Chinese fiction.

IV

The *Records of the Historian* was originally named the *Grand Astrologer's Book*, and kept that name until the Han Dynasty moved its capital from Chang'an to Luoyang, ushering in the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220). The book was then renamed *Records of the Historian*.

No copies of the book dating from the Western or Eastern Han dynasties are extant, and only a few damaged copies date from the Wei (220-265), Jin (265-420), Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589), Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties. Around 60 different block-printed copies dating from the Song Dynasty (960-1279) and beyond are preserved.

Annotation to the *Records of the Historian* started in the Eastern Han Dynasty and has continued to the present day. During the Sui and Tang dynasties, dozens of annotated versions of the book appeared. But only three of them have been preserved — *Collected Notes on the Records of*



the Historian by Pei Yin of the Southern Dynasties, *Hidden Meanings of the Records of the Historian* by Sima Zhen of the Tang Dynasty and *Correct Meanings of the Records of the Historian* by Zhang Shoujie, also of the Tang Dynasty. In the Northern Song Dynasty these three annotations were included in the *Records of the Historian*, collectively called the "Three Annotations of the *Records of the Historian*." Such annotations and other research achievements have provided valuable materials for later generations' study of the book.

In 1959, the Zhonghua Book Company published a new edition of the *Records of the Historian*, based on the *Records of the Historian with the Three Annotations* published by the Nanjing Book Publisher during emperor Tongzhi's reign (1862-1875) of Qing Dynasty. This edition also drew on Ling Zhilong's *Comments on the Records of the Historian*, Wu Jiansi's *Commentary on the Records of the Historian* and the version collated and punctuated by Wu Rulun. In the 1959 edition, new punctuation and paragraphing were added. It has been reprinted many times, and was used as reference by the compilers of the present volume. This version contains 31 chapters from the original *Records of the Historian*, chosen for their exceptional interest.

It is not certain just when the *Records of the Historian* first became known outside China. According to *the History of the Northern Dynasties* written by Li Yanshou, the *Records of the Historian* and two other Chinese history books were taken to Korea sometime during that period (386-581). During the Tang Dynasty, the book was popular in Japan, even becoming a favorite of the Japanese emperor. Its popularity led to great achievements in research on the *Records of the Historian* in Japan. Some 120 Japanese experts on the book emerged, and around 680 monographs on it were written or translated. The most influential monograph was *Combined Annotation Research on the Records of the Historian* compiled by Takigawa Kametaro, which combined the research achievements of about 100 Chi-



nese and Japanese scholars.

The important position of the *Records of the Historian* in historiography, not only in China but worldwide, has been recognized also in Europe and the United States. Recently, the Research Center for the *Records of the Historian* was established in Paris, France, the first overseas professional research institution on the book. In the United States, Zheng Zaifa and Ni Haoshi and others at the University of Wisconsin are translating and making notes on it. Their work has greatly contributed to overseas knowledge of the *Records of the Historian*, and expanded its influence.

Among the classics of China's culture, the *Records of the Historian* is a masterpiece. Sima Qian's lofty personality, dogged perseverance and outstanding insights into history shine through the pages of this original and ground-breaking work. The book is an inexhaustible source of information and ideas. Over 2,000 years, numerous Chinese and foreign scholars have studied the *Records of the Historian*, and have consistently put a high value on it. Contemporary research is flourishing and fruitful. This bilingual version of the *Selections from Records of the Historian* published by the Foreign Languages Press of Beijing is bound to play an important role in making it better known overseas.

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August 20, 2007

Beijing





明代凌稚隆《史记评林》书影

Part of the *Comments on the Records of the Historian*, written
by Ling Zhilong of the Ming Dynasty

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龐涓夜走馬陵道

倣韓滉筆



龐涓夜走馬陵道（《孫子吳起列傳》）

Pang Juan's Night Ride (From *Sun Wu and Wu Qi*)



秦始皇本纪

【原文】

秦始皇帝者，秦庄襄王子也。庄襄王为秦质子于赵，见吕不韦姬，悦而取之，生始皇。以秦昭王四十八年正月生于邯郸。及生，名为政，姓赵氏。年十三岁，庄襄王死，政代立为秦王。当是之时，秦地已并巴、蜀、汉中，越宛有郢，置南郡矣；北收上郡以东，有河东、太原、上党郡；东至荥阳，灭二周，置三川郡。吕不韦为相，封十万户，号曰文信侯。招致宾客游士，欲以并天下。李斯为舍人。蒙骜、王齮、麃公等为将军。王年少，初即位，委国事大臣。

晋阳反，元年，将军蒙骜击定之。二年，麃公将卒攻卷，斩首

【今译】

秦始皇帝，是秦庄襄王的儿子。庄襄王继承王位以前，在赵国做人质，见到吕不韦的侍妾，很喜欢就娶了她，生了始皇。在秦昭王四十八年（公元前259年）正月生于邯郸。出生后，取名为政，姓赵。十三岁时，庄襄王死，赵政代立为秦王。当时，秦国土地已兼并了巴、蜀、汉中，越过宛占有了郢，设立了南郡；向北攻占了上郡以东，设有河东、太原、上党郡；东到荥阳，灭了二周，设置三川郡。吕不韦为相国，分封十万户，号为文信侯。招致宾客游士，想利用他们兼并天下。李斯为门客。蒙骜、王齮、麃公等为将军。秦王年幼，刚即位时，国事委托给大臣。

晋阳反叛，始皇元年（公元前246年），将军蒙骜出击平定了叛乱。二年，麃公率兵攻打卷，斩首三万。三年，蒙骜攻韩，夺取了



The First Emperor of Qin

Shi Huang Di was the son of King Zhuangxiang of Qin, who while a hostage in Zhao fancied one of Lü Buwei's concubines and took her. She gave birth to the First Emperor in Handan in the first month of the forty-eighth year of King Zhao of Qin.¹ At his birth he received the name Zheng, with Zhao as his surname.

When he was thirteen his father died and he succeeded to the throne of Qin. By now Qin had annexed Ba, Shu and Hanzhong, pushed beyond Wanqiu, taken Yingdu and set up the province of Nanjun. In the north it included the territory east of Shangjun, with the provinces of Hedong, Taiyuan and Shangdang. Eastward it had reached Xingyang, conquered Eastern and Western Zhou and set up the province of Sanchuan.

Lü Buwei, the prime minister, had a fief of a hundred thousand families and the title marquis of Wenxin. He mustered protégés and wandering scholars in the hope of conquering the whole of the land. Li Si was the imperial steward. Meng Ao, Wang Yi and Lord Piao commanded the army. As the king was still young and newly come to the throne, the rule devolved upon the chief ministers.

In the first year of his reign, General Meng Ao quelled the revolt in Jinyang.

In the second year, Lord Piao led troops against Juan and killed thirty thousand men.

【原文】

三万。三年，蒙骜攻韩，取十三城。王齕死。十月，将军蒙骜攻魏氏哿、有诡。岁大饥。四年，拔哿、有诡。三月，军罢。秦质子归自赵，赵太子出归国。十月庚寅，蝗虫从东方来，蔽天。天下疫。百姓内粟千石，拜爵一级。五年，将军骜攻魏，定酸枣、燕、虚、长平、雍丘、山阳城，皆拔之，取二十城。初置东郡。冬雷。六年，韩、魏、赵、卫、楚共击秦，取寿陵。秦出兵，五国兵罢。拔卫，迫东郡，其君角率其支属徙居野王，阻其山以保魏之河内。七年，彗星先见东方，见北方，五月见西方。将军骜死。以攻龙、孤、庆都，还兵攻汲。彗星复见西方十六日。夏太后死。八年，王弟长安君成蟜将军击赵，反，死屯留，军吏皆斩死，迁其民于临洮。将军壁死，卒屯留、蒲鶒反，戮其尸。河鱼大上，轻车重马东

【今译】

十三座城。王齕死。十月，将军蒙骜攻打魏国哿、有诡。这年是大饥荒年。四年，攻下哿、有诡。三月，撤军。秦做人质的王太子从赵回国，赵太子从秦回国。十月庚寅日，蝗虫从东方来，遮天蔽日。天下瘟疫流行。百姓献上粮食一千石，授爵一级。五年，将军蒙骜攻打魏，平定酸枣、燕、虚、长平、雍丘、山阳城，全部攻下，夺取了二十座城。开始设置东郡。冬天打响雷。六年，韩、魏、赵、卫、楚一起攻打秦国，夺取了寿陵。秦出兵，五国撤军。秦国攻下卫国，逼近东郡，卫君角率领手下迁居野王，凭借山势险阻来保卫魏的河内。七年，彗星先在东方出现，又出现在北方，五月时出现在西方。将军蒙骜死。秦军正攻打龙、孤、庆都，回军攻打汲。彗星又在西方出现了十六天。夏太后死。八年，秦王的弟弟长安君成蟜率军攻打赵国，又反叛，死在屯留，军官都被杀死，把那里的百姓迁到临洮。将军在军营自杀，参与屯留、蒲鶒反叛的士兵，都



In the third year, Meng Ao attacked Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and captured thirteen cities. General Wang Yi died. In the tenth month General Meng Ao attacked Chang and Yougui in Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.). This was a year of great famine.

In the third month of the fourth year, after the conquest of Chang and Yougui, the army was recalled. The prince of Qin held as a hostage in Zhao came back, and the crown prince of Zhao returned to his own country. In the tenth month, a swarm of locusts from the east darkened the sky and plague stalked the land. For a thousand piculs of grain, commoners could purchase a noble rank.

In the fifth year, General Meng Ao stormed twenty cities of Wei, among them Suanzao, Yan, Xu, Changping, Yongqiu and Shanyang. The province of Dongjun was established. There was thunder that winter.

In the sixth year, Han, Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), Zhao, Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) and Chu launched a joint attack against Qin and took Shouling; but when Qin sent out troops the five states withdrew their armies. With Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) conquered, the forces of Qin advanced on Dongjun. Jiao, prince of Wei, led his followers to Yewang to hold the mountains and keep the territory north of the Yellow River.

In the seventh year a comet appeared, first in the east, then in the north. In the fifth month it appeared again in the west. General Meng Ao died. The forces of Qin attacked Long, Gu and Qingdu, then turned against Ji. The comet reappeared in the west for sixteen days. The queen-dowager Xia died.

In the eighth year the king's younger brother, Chengqiao, lord of Chang'an, led troops against Zhao. He rebelled but died at Tunliu. All his officers were executed and his people were transferred to Lintao. The commander committed suicide. The corpses of all the soldiers who had mutinied were mutilated. There was a great flood, and to get

【原文】

就食。

嫪毐封为长信侯。予之山阳地，令毐居之。宫室车马衣服苑囿驰猎恣毐。事无小大皆决于毐。又以河西太原郡更为毐国。九年，彗星见，或竟天。攻魏垣、蒲阳。四月，上宿雍。己酉，王冠，带剑。长信侯毐作乱而觉，矫王御玺及太后玺以发县卒及卫卒、官骑、戎翟君公、舍人，将欲攻蕲年宫为乱。王知之，令相国昌平君、昌文君发卒攻毐。战咸阳，斩首数百，皆拜爵，及宦者皆在战中，亦拜爵一级。毐等败走。即令国中：有生得毐，赐钱百万；杀之，五十万。尽得毐等。卫尉竭、内史肆、佐弋竭、中大夫令齐等二十人皆枭首。车裂以徇，灭其宗。及其舍人，轻者为鬼薪。及夺爵迁蜀四千余家，家房陵。是月寒冻，有死者。杨端和攻衍氏。彗

【今译】

被戮尸。黄河水灾鱼大批漂上岸，人们乘车骑马到东方找食物吃。

嫪毐封为长信侯。赐给他山阳一带，让他住在那里。宫室、车马、衣服、园林、狩猎都听任他。事情无论大小都由嫪毐决定。又把河西太原郡改为嫪毐的封国。九年(公元前238年)，彗星出现，有时横过天空。攻打魏国的垣、蒲阳。四月，秦王在雍住宿。己酉，秦王行冠礼，佩剑。长信侯嫪毐作乱被发觉，用假冒秦王印及太后印来征发京城部队及卫队、官骑、戎翟首领、家臣，带兵想攻打蕲年宫作乱。秦王知道了，命相国昌平君、昌文君发兵攻打嫪毐。在咸阳交战，杀死几百人，他们都被授给爵位，还有参战的宦官，也都授爵一级。嫪毐等败逃。于是通令全国：有活捉嫪毐的，赏钱百万；杀死他的，赏钱五十万。嫪毐等人全被捉到。卫尉竭、内史肆、佐弋竭、中大夫令齐等二十人都被斩首。车裂示众，灭族。他们的家臣，罪轻的罚为鬼薪劳役。另有削去爵位迁到蜀郡的四千余家，住在房陵。这个月天寒地冻，有冻死的。杨端和攻打衍



food men rode east on horseback or in fast carriages.

Lao Ai, enfeoffed marquis of Changxin, was ordered to live in the region of Shanyang. Lao Ai had his own palace, equipage, livery, forest and hunting ground. All affairs of state, great and small, were in his hands. The province of Taiyuan west of the Yellow River was also his fief.

In the ninth year a comet was seen to cross the whole sky. Qin attacked Weiyuan and Puyang. In the fourth month the king took up residence at Yong. He came of age, was capped and girded on a sword.

The plot of Lao Ai, marquis of Changxin, was discovered. He used the royal seal and queen-dowager's seal to call out the royal troops, guards, government cavalry, foreign chiefs and his retainers, meaning to start a revolt by attacking Qinian Palace. The king, learning of this, ordered the state councillor, the lord of Changping, and the lord of Changwen to raise troops to subdue Lao Ai. At the Battle of Xianyang several hundred rebels were killed. All the king's men were promoted, the eunuchs who had taken part in the action being promoted one rank. Lao Ai and his defeated forces fled. A reward of a million cash was offered throughout the land for his capture alive, half a million for his dead body. Lao Ai and his men were all caught. Some twenty of his followers, including Jie the captain of the palace guard, Si the metropolitan prefect, Jie the assistant archery officer, and Qi the chief palace steward, were dismembered and their heads hung high as a warning to others. Punishment was meted out even to his retainers, minor offenders being punished with conscript labour or deprivation of rank. More than four thousand families were removed to Fangling in Shu.

The fourth month was bitterly cold and men froze to death. Yang Duanhe attacked Yanshi. A comet appeared in the west, then in the

【原文】

星见西方，又见北方，从斗以南八十日。十年，相国吕不韦坐嫪毐免。桓齮为将军。齐、赵来置酒。齐人茅焦说秦王曰：“秦方以天下为事，而大王有迁母太后之名，恐诸侯闻之，由此倍秦也。”秦王乃迎太后于雍而入咸阳，复居甘泉宫。

大索，逐客。李斯上书说，乃止逐客令。李斯因说秦王，请先取韩以恐他国，于是使斯下韩。韩王患之，与韩非谋弱秦。大梁人尉繚来，说秦王曰：“以秦之强，诸侯譬如郡县之君，臣但恐诸侯合从，翕而出不意，此乃智伯、夫差、湣王之所以亡也。愿大王毋爱财物，赂其豪臣，以乱其谋，不过亡三十万金，则诸侯可尽。”秦王从其计，见尉繚亢礼，衣服食饮与繚同。繚曰：“秦王为人，

【今译】

氏。彗星出现在西方，又出现在北方，从北斗开始向南显现了八十天。十年，相国吕不韦因嫪毐的事被牵连免职。桓齮为将军。齐国、赵国备酒来祝贺。齐人茅焦劝说秦王道：“秦正以夺取天下为己任，而大王有了贬谪母太后的名声，恐怕诸侯听说了，会因此背叛秦国。”秦王于是到雍迎接太后回咸阳，仍住在甘泉宫。

秦王大规模搜索、驱逐客籍人。李斯上书劝说，才废除了逐客令。李斯趁机劝说秦王，先夺取韩国以威胁其他国家，于是派李斯去征服韩国。韩王为此担忧，与韩非商量削弱秦国。大梁人尉繚来，劝说秦王道：“以秦国的强大，诸侯就好比郡县的长官，我只是担心诸侯们联合起来，突然发动进攻，这就是智伯、夫差、湣王灭亡的原因。希望大王不要吝惜财物，贿赂他们的大臣，以打乱他们的计谋，不过损失三十万金，诸侯们就能收拾尽了。”秦王听从了他的计谋，用平等的礼节会见尉繚，衣服、饮食与尉繚相同。尉



north, remaining for eighty days south of the Dipper.

In the tenth year, the chancellor Lü Buwei was dismissed on account of Lao Ai. Huan Yi was made a general. Envoys Sent by Qi and Zhao were feasted.

Mao Jiao of Qi advised the king: "Now Qin is out for world conquest, yet you are reported to have sent away the queen-dowager, your mother. I fear that when other states know this, they will oppose you." Then the king went to Yong to invite the queen-dowager back, escorting her to Xianyang to take up her quarters again in Ganquan Palace. A great search was made for wandering politicians and an order issued for their expulsion, but on Li Si's advice this order was rescinded.

Li Si urged the king to conquer Han in order to intimidate the other states, and he was sent to demand Han's surrender. The prince of Han in his anxiety consulted Han Fei on means to weaken Qin.

Wei Liao of Daliang came to advise the king saying, "Now Qin is so strong that the other states are like your subject provinces and counties. But what if they ally together and launch a sudden attack? This is how Lord Zhi, King Fucha and King Min of Qi perished. I hope you will upset their scheme by begrudging no expenditure to bribe their powerful ministers. For then three hundred thousand pieces of gold will enable you to conquer all the states."

The king followed this plan. And thereafter he treated Wei Liao as an equal, sharing clothes, food and drink with him. But Wei Liao said,

【原文】

蜂准，长目，挚鸟膺，豺声，少恩而虎狼心，居约易出人下，得志亦轻食人。我布衣，然见我常身自下我。诚使秦王得志于天下，天下皆为虏矣。不可与久游。”乃亡去。秦王觉，固止，以为秦国尉，卒用其计策。而李斯用事。

十一年，王翦、桓齮、杨端和攻邲，取九城。王翦攻闾与、橈杨，皆并为一军。翦将十八日，军归斗食以下，什推二人从军。取邲、安阳，桓齮将。十二年，文信侯不韦死，窃葬。其舍人临者，晋人也逐出之；秦人六百石以上夺爵，迁；五百石以下不临，迁，勿夺爵。自今以来，操国事不道如嫪毐、不韦者籍其门，视此。秋，复嫪毐舍人迁蜀者。当是之时，天下大旱，六月至八月乃雨。

【今译】

嫪毐说：“秦王为人，高鼻梁，长眼睛，鸷鸟样的胸部，豺狼般的声音，缺少仁爱而有虎狼之心，穷困时容易谦卑对人，得志时也能轻易地吞掉别人。我是平头百姓，可他见我时常待以上宾之礼。如果真使秦王在天下得志，天下人都将成为他的奴仆。不能同他长期来往。”于是逃走。秦王发觉，坚决阻止他，让他做秦国尉，始终采纳他的计策。而李斯当权。

十一年(公元前236年)，王翦、桓齮、杨端和攻打邲，夺取了九座城。王翦攻打闾与、橈杨，三军并为一军。王翦带兵十八天，让军中俸禄斗食以下的人回家，十人中推举二人留在军中。夺取了邲、安阳，桓齮领兵。十二年(公元前235年)，文信侯吕不韦死，偷偷下葬。他的家臣中参加葬礼的，如果是晋人就逐出秦境；如果是秦人六百石以上的夺去爵位，迁往他处；五百石以下未参加葬礼的，迁居，不夺去爵位。从此以后，主持国事却不行正道像嫪毐、吕不韦一样的，全家收为奴隶，依此处理。秋，免除迁到蜀地的嫪毐家臣的赋税徭役。此时，天下大旱，从六月起，直到八月才下雨。



"The king of Qin has a waspish nose, eyes like slits, a chicken breast and a voice like a jackal. He is merciless, with the heart of a tiger or wolf. When in difficulties he willingly humbles himself, when successful he swallows men up without a scruple. I am a plain citizen in homespun clothes, yet he treats me as if I were his superior. Should he succeed in conquering the empire, we shall all become his captives. There is no staying long with such a man." He prepared to leave but the king forced him to stay, made him commander of the Qin army and adopted his plans. Then Li Si came to power.

In the eleventh year Wang Jian, Huan Yi and Yang Duanhe attacked Ye and took nine cities. Wang Jian also attacked Yuyu and Laoyang. Then these forces were combined into one army which Wang Jian commanded for eighteen days. Upon the army's return, only two out of every ten sergeants were allowed to remain. Ye and Anyang were conquered and Huan Yi was made commander.

In the twelfth year Lü Buwei, marquis of Wenxin, died and was buried in secret. Those of his followers from Jin who attended his funeral were expelled, those of Qin above the six hundred piculs rank were degraded and moved elsewhere. Those who did not attend the funeral and were below the five hundred piculs rank were moved to another district but not deprived of their rank. It was decreed that in future high ministers who committed crimes comparable to those of Lao Ai and Lü Buwei should have their families enslaved and their property confiscated. That autumn the followers of Lao Ai who had been banished to Shu were recalled. For six months there was a great drought. Rain fell only in the eighth month.



【原文】

十三年，桓齮攻赵平阳，杀赵将扈辄，斩首十万。王之河南。正月，彗星见东方。十月，桓齮攻赵。十四年，攻赵军于平阳，取宜安，破之，杀其将军。桓齮定平阳、武城。韩非使秦，秦用李斯谋，留非，非死云阳。韩王请为臣。

十五年，大兴兵，一军至邺，一军至太原，取狼孟。地动。十六年九月，发卒受地韩南阳假守腾。初令男子书年。魏献地于秦。秦置丽邑。十七年，内史腾攻韩，得韩王安，尽纳其地，以其地为郡，命曰颍川。地动。华阳太后卒。民大饥。

十八年，大兴兵攻赵，王翦将上地，下井陉，端和将河内，羌瘃伐赵，端和围邯郸城。十九年，王翦、羌瘃尽定取赵地东阳，得

【今译】

十三年(公元前234年)，桓齮攻打赵国平阳，杀赵将扈辄，杀人十万。秦王到了河南。正月，彗星在东方出现。十月，桓齮攻赵。十四年，在平阳攻打赵军，夺取宜安，击败赵军，杀了赵的将军。桓齮平定了平阳、武城。韩非出使秦国，秦国采用李斯的计谋，留下韩非，韩非死在云阳。韩王请求称臣。

十五年(公元前232年)，秦大举兴兵，一支军队到邺，一支军队到太原，夺取狼孟。地震。十六年九月，发兵接受韩南阳邑，任命腾为代理南阳太守。开始命令男子登记年龄。魏国献地给秦国。秦设置丽邑。十七年，内史腾攻打韩国，捉到韩王安，把韩地全部据为己有，在那里设郡，称为颍川。地震。华阳太后去世。人民遭受大饥荒。

十八年(公元前229年)，大举兴兵攻打赵国，王翦率上地军队，攻下井陉，端和率河内军队，羌瘃攻伐赵，端和包围了邯郸城。十九年，王翦、羌瘃完全占领了赵国东阳地区，捉到赵王。带



In the thirteenth year Huan Yi attacked Pingyang in Zhao, killing General Hu Zhe and slaughtering a hundred thousand men. The king went to the land south of the river. In the first month a comet appeared in the east. In the tenth month Huan Yi attacked Zhao.

In the fourteenth year Huan Yi fought the men of Zhao at Pingyang and took Yian by storm, killing its commander. Then he conquered Pingyang and Wucheng. Han Fei went as an envoy to Qin and the king, on Li Si's advice, kept him. He died later in Yuyang. The king of Han asked to become a vassal of Qin.

In the fifteenth year a great force was mobilized. One army advanced to Ye, another to Taiyuan, taking Langmeng. There was an earthquake.

In the ninth month of the sixteenth year, troops were sent to take over Nanyang from Han, and Teng was appointed provisional governor. A general census was taken. Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) presented Qin with some territory which became the district of Liyi.

In the seventeenth year the city prefect Teng attacked Han and captured King An, annexing all his territory which was made into the province of Yingchuan. There was an earthquake. The queen-dowager Huayang died. There was a great famine.

In the eighteenth year a great army was mobilized against Zhao. Wang Jian led the troops in Shangdi to take Jingxing, Yang Duanhe led the troops north of the Yellow River, and Qiang Hui also launched an attack on Zhao. Yang Duanhe laid siege to Handan.

In the nineteenth year Wang Jian and Qiang Hui defeated Zhao,



【原文】

赵王。引兵欲攻燕，屯中山。秦王之邯郸，诸尝与王生赵时母家有仇怨，皆坑之。秦王还，从太原、上郡归。始皇帝母太后崩。赵公子嘉率其宗数百人之代，自立为代王，东与燕合兵，军上谷。大饥。

二十年，燕太子丹患秦兵至国，恐，使荆轲刺秦王。秦王觉之，体解轲以徇，而使王翦、辛胜攻燕。燕、代发兵击秦军，秦军破燕易水之西。二十一年，王赧攻荆。乃益发卒诣王翦军，遂破燕太子军，取燕蓟城，得太子丹之首。燕王东收辽东而王之。王翦谢病老归。新郑反。昌平君徙于郢。大雨雪，深二尺五寸。

二十二年，王赧攻魏，引河沟灌大梁，大梁城坏，其王请降，尽取其地。

【今译】

兵要攻打燕国，驻军中山。秦王到了邯郸，凡曾与秦王在赵国出生时的母家有仇的，全部活埋。秦王返回，经太原、上郡回到都城。始皇帝母亲太后去世。赵公子嘉率其宗族几百人到了代，自立为代王，向东同燕国会师，驻军上谷。天下发生大饥荒。

二十年(公元前227年)，燕太子丹担心秦军侵犯燕国，很害怕，就派荆轲去刺杀秦王。秦王发觉了，肢解了荆轲来示众，又派王翦、辛胜攻打燕国。燕、代发兵攻打秦军，秦军在易水西面打败了燕军。二十一年，王赧攻打楚国。又增发兵力到王翦军中，接着打败了燕太子的军队，攻取了燕国蓟城，得到太子丹的人头。燕王向东取得辽东并在那里称王。王翦因老病辞官回家。新郑反叛。昌平君迁到郢。下大雪，深二尺五寸。

二十二年(公元前225年)，王赧攻打魏国，引汴河水淹大梁，大梁城被冲毁，魏王请求投降，秦全部取得魏的土地。



taking the district of Dongyang and capturing the king of Zhao. Next, in preparation for an attack on Yan, they stationed their troops at Zhongshan. The king of Qin went to Handan and buried alive all the enemies of his mother's family at the time of his birth, after which he returned by way of Taiyuan and Shangjun. The king's own mother, the queen-dowager, died. A noble of Zhao named Jia took several hundred men of his clan to Dai and made himself king there, then joined forces with Yan in the east and encamped at Shanggu. There was a great famine.

In the twentieth year Crown Prince Dan of Yan, fearing an invasion from Qin, sent Jing Ke to assassinate the king of Qin. When this was discovered, the king dismembered Jing Ke as a warning to others, then sent Wang Jian and Xin Shen to attack Yan. Yan and Dai dispatched their armies to engage Qin, but were defeated west of the River Yi.

In the twenty-first year Wang Ben attacked Chu and Wang Jian's army was reinforced. Then they defeated the troops of Crown Prince Dan, captured the city of Ji and obtained Dan's head. The king of Yan annexed Liaodong in the east and ruled over it. Wang Jian asked leave to retire on the grounds of ill health. A revolt broke out in Xinzheng. The lord of Changping moved his capital to Ying. There was a great snowfall, twenty-five inches deep.

In the twenty-second year, Wang Ben attacked Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) and diverted the river to flood the city of Daliang. The city wall crumbled, the king of Wei surrendered, and all his land was annexed.

【原文】

二十三年，秦王复召王翦，强起之，使将击荆。取陈以南至平舆，虏荆王。秦王游至郢陈。荆将项燕立昌平君为荆王，反秦于淮南。二十四年，王翦、蒙武攻荆，破荆军，昌平君死，项燕遂自杀。

二十五年，大兴兵，使王贲将，攻燕辽东，得燕王喜。还攻代，虏代王嘉。王翦遂定荆江南地，降越君，置会稽郡。五月，天下大酺。

二十六年，齐王建与其相后胜发兵守其西界，不通秦。秦使将军王贲从燕南攻齐，得齐王建。

秦初并天下，令丞相、御史曰：“异日韩王纳地效玺，请为藩臣，已而倍约，与赵、魏合从畔秦，故兴兵诛之，虏其王。寡人以

【今译】

二十三年(公元前224年)，秦王又召回王翦，勉强他再上任，让他带兵攻打楚国。占领了陈以南至平舆的土地，俘虏了楚王。秦王巡游到了郢、陈。楚将项燕立昌平君为楚王，在淮河以南反抗秦国。二十四年(公元前223年)，王翦、蒙武攻打楚国，击败楚军，昌平君死，项燕于是自杀。

二十五年(公元前222年)，大举兴兵，派王贲领兵，攻打燕国辽东，捉到燕王喜。回师攻打代，俘虏了代王嘉。王翦又平定了楚江南地区，降服了越君，设会稽郡。五月，天下狂欢饮酒庆祝。

二十六年(公元前221年)，齐王建与其相国后胜发兵守卫其西部边界，不与秦国往来。秦派将军王贲从燕国南面攻打齐国，捉到齐王建。

秦刚刚统一天下，就下令丞相、御史道：“以前韩王献地交印，请做藩臣，不久又违背盟约，与赵、魏联合背叛秦国，所以秦



In the twenty-third year, the king of Qin recalled Wang Jian and forced him to take command, sending him against Chu. All the land south of Chen was conquered as far as Pingyu and the king of Chu was captured. The king of Qin visited Ying and Chen. Xiang Yan, a general of Chu, set up the lord of Changping as king of Chu and revolted against Qin south of the River Huai.

In the twenty-fourth year, Wang Jian and Meng Wu attacked Chu and defeated its army. The lord of Changping was killed and Xiang Yan took his own life.

In the twenty-fifth year a great force was mobilized. Wang Ben, ordered to take command, attacked King Xi of Yan at Liaodong and captured him, then turned to attack Dai and captured its king, Jia. Wang Jian conquered the territory of Chu south of the Yangtse, forced the prince of Yue to surrender and set up the province of Kuaiji. In the fifth month there were celebrations and feasting throughout the land.

In the twenty-sixth year, King Jian of Qi and his prime minister Hou Sheng dispatched troops to defend the western frontier and cut communications with Qin. The king of Qin sent General Wang Ben south from Yan to attack Qi and captured Jian, king of Qi. So now Qin was in control of the whole land.

The king told his prime minister and chief counsellor, "Formerly the king of Han offered us his territory and royal seal, begging to become our subject; but when he broke faith to ally with Zhao and



【原文】

为善，庶几息兵革。赵王使其相李牧来约盟，故归其质子。已而倍盟，反我太原，故兴兵诛之，得其王。赵公子嘉乃自立为代王，故举兵击灭之。魏王始约服入秦，已而与韩、赵谋袭秦，秦兵吏诛，遂破之。荆王献青阳以西，已而畔约，击我南郡，故发兵诛，得其王，遂定其荆地。燕王昏乱，其太子丹乃阴令荆轲为贼，兵吏诛，灭其国。齐王用后胜计，绝秦使，欲为乱，兵吏诛，虏其王，平齐地。寡人以眇眇之身，兴兵诛暴乱，赖宗庙之灵，六王咸伏其辜，天下大定。今名号不更，无以称成功，传后世。其议帝号。”丞相绾、御史大夫劫、廷尉斯等皆曰：“昔者五帝地方千里，其外侯服夷服，诸侯或朝或否，天子不能制。今陛下兴义兵，诛残贼，平定

【今译】

发兵诛灭它，俘虏了韩王。寡人认为很好，差不多要停止战争了。赵王派其相国李牧来与秦定盟约，所以放回了赵做人质的太子。不久又违背盟约，在太原反叛我，所以我发兵诛灭了它，俘虏了赵王。赵公子嘉于是自立为代王，所以我发兵击灭了他。魏王当初约定降服入秦，不久又同韩、赵商量袭击秦，秦官兵进行讨伐，于是打败了魏。楚王献出青阳以西地区，不久又违背盟约，攻打我南郡，所以发兵攻打它，俘虏了楚王，又平定了楚国之地。燕王昏乱，其太子丹就暗中派荆轲作刺客，秦官兵征讨，灭了燕国。齐王采纳后胜的计谋，断绝与秦通使，想作乱，秦官兵征讨，俘虏了齐王，平定了齐国一带。寡人以渺小的身躯，兴兵诛灭了暴乱，依赖宗庙神灵的保佑，六国国王都伏首认罪，天下大大安定了。现在不改换名号，就无法显示成功，名传后世。请商议定帝号。”丞相王绾、御史大夫冯劫、廷尉李斯等都说：“从前五帝土地方圆千里，其外还有侯服、夷服各类诸侯，有的朝见，有的不朝见，天子不能



Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) against us, we raised a punitive force and captured him. I consider this well done, for it led to the cessation of hostilities.

“When the king of Zhao sent his minister Li Mu to pledge friendship with us, we returned the prince of theirs we held hostage; but after they broke faith and revolted at Taiyuan we raised a punitive force and captured the king. When Jia, a noble of Zhao, made himself king of Dai, we raised troops to destroy him. The king of Wei promised to surrender, but when he plotted with Han and Zhao to launch a surprise attack, our officers and men punished him and defeated him. The king of Chu, after presenting us with the land west of Qingyang, broke faith and attacked Nanjun; so we sent troops against him and captured him, conquering his land. The king of Yan was a muddle-headed fool and let the crown prince Dan send Jing Ke out to assassinate us; so our officers and men punished them and destroyed their state. The king of Qi took Hou Sheng’s advice and severed relations with Qin; so our army punished and captured him, conquering his land.

“Insignificant as I am, I have raised troops to punish the rebellious princes; and thanks to the sacred power of our ancestors all six kings have been chastised as they deserved, so that at last the empire is pacified. Now unless we create a new title, how can we record our achievements for posterity? Pray discuss the question of an imperial title.”

The prime minister Wang Wan, the chief counsellor Feng Jie and the chief justice Li Si returned this reply: “In the past the Five Emperors ruled over a thousand square *li* of territory, beyond which were the barons and barbarians. The barons were free to pay homage or not as they pleased, for the emperor had no control over them. Now Your



【原文】

天下，海内为郡县，法令由一统，自上古以来未尝有，五帝所不及。臣等谨与博士议曰：‘古有天皇，有地皇，有泰皇，泰皇最贵。’臣等昧死上尊号，王为‘泰皇’。命为‘制’，令为‘诏’，天子自称曰‘朕’。”王曰：“去‘泰’，著‘皇’，采上古‘帝’位号，号曰‘皇帝’。他如议。”制曰：“可。”追尊庄襄王为太上皇。制曰：“朕闻太古有号毋谥，中古有号，死而以行为谥。如此，则子议父，臣议君也，甚无谓，朕弗取焉。自今已来，除谥法。朕为始皇帝。后世以计数，二世三世至于万世，传之无穷。”

始皇推终始五德之传，以为周得火德，秦代周德，从所不胜。方今水德之始，改年始，朝贺皆自十月朔。衣服旄旌节旗皆上黑。

【今译】

控制。现在陛下发动义师，诛讨残贼，平定天下，全国设置郡县，法令统一，自上古以来不曾有这样的局面，五帝都不如您。臣等谨与博士商议道：‘古有天皇，有地皇，有泰皇，泰皇最高贵。’臣等冒死献上尊号，王称为‘泰皇’。命称为‘制’，令称为‘诏’，天子自称为‘朕’。”秦王说：“去掉‘泰’，加上‘皇’，采用上古‘帝’位的叫法，称为‘皇帝’。其它按你们商议的办。”下令道：“可以。”追尊庄襄王为太上皇。下令道：“朕听说上古有号无谥，中古有号，死后根据生平事迹定谥号。这样的话，就使儿子评议父亲，臣子评议君主，很没有道理，朕不赞成这种做法。从今以后，废除谥法。朕为始皇帝。后世按辈数计算，二世、三世以至万世，永远相传，没有穷尽。”

始皇推算五行终始循环的顺序，认为周朝得火德，秦朝兴起取代周德，必须采用周德所不能战胜的德行。当今是水德的开始，要更改岁首，朝贺都以十月初一为元旦。衣服、符节和旗帜的装饰都



Majesty has raised an army of justice to punish tyrants, subjugating the whole empire so that all lands within the seas have become our provinces and counties and all the law-codes have been unified. This is something never before achieved, which not even the Five Emperors could match. We have consulted learned men and, as in ancient times there were the Heavenly Sovereign, Earthly Sovereign and Supreme Sovereign, of whom the last named was paramount, we presume to suggest the exalted title *Taihuang* or Supreme Sovereign. Your Majesty's commands should be known as 'edicts', your orders as 'decrees', and you should refer to yourself as 'our royal self'."

The king replied, "'Supreme' may be omitted and 'Sovereign' adopted with the title of 'Emperor' used since ancient times. Let my appellation be *Huangdi*, Sovereign Emperor. I approve your other proposals." An edict was issued and King Zhuangxiang was retitled the Exalted Sovereign.

The edict read: "We have heard that in remote antiquity kings had titles but no posthumous appellations. The kings of later days not only had titles but after their death were given appellations based on their conduct. In other words, sons passed judgement on their fathers, subjects on their sovereigns. This is improper and we will not countenance it. Posthumous titles are herewith abolished. We are Shihuangdi, First Sovereign Emperor, and our successors shall be known as the Second Emperor, Third Emperor and so on for generations without end."

According to the theory of the Cycle of Five Powers, the emperor decided that as successor to the Zhou Dynasty, which was under the Power of Fire, Qin must have the Power to vanquish Fire. So began the era of the Power of Water. The start of the year was changed to the first day of the tenth month, when the court celebration was held.



【原文】

数以六为纪，符、法冠皆六寸，而舆六尺，六尺为步，乘六马。更名河曰德水，以为水德之始。刚毅戾深，事皆决于法，刻削毋仁恩和义，然后合五德之数。于是急法，久者不赦。

丞相绾等言：“诸侯初破，燕、齐、荆地远，不为置王，毋以填之。请立诸子，唯上幸许。”始皇下其议于群臣，群臣皆以为便。廷尉李斯议曰：“周文武所封子弟同姓甚众，然后属疏远，相攻击如仇讎，诸侯更相诛伐，周天子弗能禁止。今海内赖陛下神灵一统，皆为郡县，诸子功臣以公赋税重赏赐之，甚足易制。天下无异意，则安宁之术也。置诸侯不便。”始皇曰：“天下共苦战斗不休，以有侯王。赖宗庙，天下初定，又复立国，是树兵也，而求其

【今译】

以黑色为贵。数目以六为单位，符、法冠都定为六寸，车厢宽六尺，六尺为一步，一车驾六马。把黄河改名为德水，用来表示水德的开始。主张刚毅苛暴，凡事都依法办理，刻薄残忍，没有仁德、恩情、和善、情义，这才符合五德的命数。于是法令严峻，犯法之人久久不能得到宽赦。

丞相王绾等进言：“诸侯刚被击败，燕国、齐国、楚国地方偏远，如不设置诸侯王，就无法镇服他们。请立皇子们为王，希望皇上批准。”始皇将这个建议下交群臣讨论，群臣都认为可行。廷尉李斯议论道：“周文王、武王分封子弟、同族的人很多，可是后代日益疏远，像仇人般互相攻击，诸侯互相讨伐，周天子不能禁止。现在天下依赖陛下神灵得到统一，都设置了郡县，皇子功臣都用国家赋税多多赏赐他们，很容易就控制了。天下没有异心，这就是安宁的办法啊。设立诸侯不利。”始皇说：“天下人共同苦于战乱不止，就是有诸侯王的缘故。依赖祖宗神灵，天下刚刚安定，又要立



Black became the paramount colour for garments, flags and pennants, and six the paramount number. Tallies and official hats were six inches long, carriages six feet wide, one 'pace' was six feet, and the imperial carriage had six horses. The Yellow River was renamed the River of Power. It was held that to inaugurate the Power of Water there must be firm repression with everything determined by law. Only ruthless, implacable severity could make the Five Powers accord. So the law was harsh and for long there were no amnesties.

The prime minister Wang Wan and some others said, "The states are newly conquered and unless we set up princes in such remote regions as Yan, Qi and Chu, how are we to control them? We beg your permission to make your sons princes there."

The First Emperor laid this proposal before his ministers. All approved except the chief justice Li Si, who said, "King Wen and King Wu of Zhou gave fiefs to their sons, younger brothers and many other members of their clan, but later their descendants fell out and finally set on each other. And when the states fought together, the king of Zhou was powerless to stop them. Now thanks to Your Majesty's divine might, all lands within the Four Seas have become your provinces and counties. If you give the princes and men who have served you well public revenues and rich rewards, they will be easy to control and there will be no dissension throughout the land. This is the way to secure peace, not by setting up princes."

The emperor said, "The world has had no respite from warfare because of the states. Now thanks to the divine might of our ancestors, we have pacified all under heaven. Setting up new states would mean



【原文】

宁息，岂不难哉！廷尉议是。”

分天下以为三十六郡，郡置守、尉、监。更名民曰“黔首”。大酺。收天下兵，聚之咸阳，销以为钟鐻，金人十二，重各千石，置廷宫中。一法度衡石丈尺。车同轨。书同文字。地东至海暨朝鲜，西至临洮、羌中，南至北向户，北据河为塞，并阴山至辽东。徙天下豪富于咸阳十二万户。诸庙及章台、上林皆在渭南。秦每破诸侯，写放其宫室，作之咸阳北阪上，南临渭，自雍门以东至泾、渭，殿屋复道周阁相属。所得诸侯美人钟鼓，以充入之。

二十七年，始皇巡陇西、北地，出鸡头山，过回中。焉作信宫

【今译】

诸侯国，这是在制造战争，想以此求得安宁，不是太难了吗！廷尉的意见对。”

把天下分为三十六个郡，每郡设置守、尉、监。改称百姓为“黔首”。天下狂欢饮酒庆祝。把全国的武器收集起来，集中到咸阳，熔化后铸成钟、鐻，十二个铜人，各重千石，放在宫廷中。统一法制和度量衡。车辆统一轨宽。书写用同一种文字。领土东到大海和朝鲜，西到临洮、羌中，南到北向户，北面占据黄河要塞，沿阴山直到辽东。把国内豪富之家十二万户迁到咸阳。各宗庙及章台、上林都在渭水南岸。秦每灭掉一个诸侯，就模仿这个国家的宫室，建造在咸阳北面的山坡上，南临渭水，从雍门以东直到泾水、渭水，殿屋间以天桥和回廊相连。把从诸侯那里得到的美人、钟鼓，放在里面。

二十七年(公元前220年)，始皇巡视陇西、北地，出鸡头山，经过回中。于是在渭水南面修建信宫，不久把信宫改名为极庙，象



establishing armies, and peace and quiet would be hard to secure. The chief justice is right."

So the empire was divided into thirty-six provinces, each with a governor, an army commander and an inspector. The common people were renamed the Black-Headed People. There were great celebrations. All the weapons were collected and brought to the capital Xianyang, where they were melted down to make bronze bells and twelve bronze statues of giants, each weighing two hundred and forty thousand catties, and these were placed in the courts and palaces. All weights and measures were standardized, all carriages had gauges of the same size. The script was also standardized.

The empire extended in the east to the ocean and the land of Chaoxian, in the west to Lintao and Qiangzhong, in the south to Beixianghu, in the north to the fortresses by the Yellow River and along Mount Yinshan to Liaodong. One hundred and twenty thousand wealthy families were brought from all over the empire to Xianyang. The imperial ancestral temples, Zhangtai Palace and the Shanglin Gardens were constructed on the south bank of the River Wei. Each time Qin had conquered a state, a replica of its palace was rebuilt on the hills north of the capital overlooking the River Wei in the south; while eastward from Yongmen to the Jing and Wei Rivers, in a series of courts, walled-in avenues and pavilions, were kept the beautiful women and musical instruments captured from different states.

In the twenty-seventh year the emperor inspected Longxi and Beidi, crossed Mount Jitou and passed Huizhong. The Xin Palace was built



【原文】

渭南，已更命信宫为极庙，象天极。自极庙道通鄠山，作甘泉前殿。筑甬道，自咸阳属之。是岁，赐爵一级。治驰道。

二十八年，始皇东行郡县，上邹峰山。立石，与鲁诸儒生议，刻石颂秦德，议封禅望祭山川之事。乃遂上泰山，立石，封，祠祀。下，风雨暴至，休于树下，因封其树为五大夫。禅梁父，刻所立石，其辞曰：

皇帝临位，作制明法，臣下脩饬。二十有六年，初并天下，罔不宾服。亲巡远方黎民，登兹泰山，周览东极。从臣思迹，本原事业，祇诵功德。治道运行，诸产得宜，皆有法式。大义休明，垂于后世，顺承勿革。皇帝躬圣，既平天下，不懈于治。夙兴夜寐，建设长利，专隆教诲。训经宣达，远近毕

【今译】

征北极星。从极庙筑路通鄠山，建造甘泉前殿。修筑甬道，一直通到咸阳。这一年，赐爵位一级。修筑驰道。

二十八年(公元前219年)，始皇向东巡行郡县，上邹峰山。立石碑，与鲁地的儒生们商议，刻石歌颂秦朝的盛德，商议封禅祭祀天地山川的事情。于是登上了泰山，立石碑，筑坛，祭天。下山时，突然刮风下雨，在一棵树下始皇休息，因此封这棵树为“五大夫”。在梁父祭地，在立的石碑上刻字，碑文是：

皇帝登位，创制明法，臣下恭敬。二十六年，开始统一天下，无不臣服。亲自巡视远方百姓，登此泰山，遍览东部边疆。随臣思念往事，推究伟大事业的功勋，敬颂圣德。治国之道开始实行，各方面各得其所，都有法式。伟大的道义美好光明，传于后世，继承下来不要改变。皇帝英明圣德，平定天下后，又不懈地治理国家。夙兴夜寐，为长远利益谋划，特别注



on the south bank of the River Wei and the emperor decreed that it be the Paramount Temple, representing the apex of heaven. From the Paramount Temple a path led to Mount Li where a front hall of the Ganquan Palace was built, and the temple was connected with Xianyang by a walled road. This year officers were promoted one rank. Post-roads were constructed.

In the twenty-eighth year the First Emperor travelled east through his provinces and counties, ascended Mount Zouyi and erected a stone monument. After some discussion with the scholars of Lu, he had a stone inscription made to celebrate the virtue of the Qin Empire. They also discussed the imperial sacrifice to Heaven and Earth and the sacrifices to mountains and rivers. Then the emperor ascended Mount Tai, erected a stone monument and offered sacrifice to Heaven. On his way down he was caught in a storm and sheltered under a tree, which was given the title of Minister of the Fifth Rank. The sacrifice to the Earth was offered at Mount Liangfu. And a stone monument was erected with this inscription:

The Sovereign Emperor came to the throne, made decrees and laws
which all his subjects heeded;

In his twenty-sixth year the land was unified, all obeyed his rule;

He inspected the black-headed people in distant parts, ascended Mount
Tai and viewed the eastern extremity;

His obedient subjects remember his achievements, trace them from the
start and celebrate his virtue.

Beneath his wide sway all things find their place, all is decreed by law;
Great and manifest, his virtue is handed down to ages yet to come, to be
followed without change.

The sage emperor who has pacified all under heaven is tireless in his
rule;

He rises early, goes to sleep late, makes lasting benefits and offers wise
instructions;



【原文】

理，咸承圣志。贵贱分明，男女礼顺，慎遵职事。昭隔内外，靡不清净，施于后嗣。化及无穷，遵奉遗诏，永承重戒。

于是乃并勃海以东，过黄、腓，穷成山，登之罘，立石颂秦德焉而去。

南登琅邪，大乐之，留三月。乃徙黔首三万户琅邪台下，复十二岁。作琅邪台，立石刻，颂秦德，明得意。曰：

维二十八年，皇帝作始。端平法度，万物之纪。以明人事，合同父子。圣智仁义，显白道理。东抚东土，以省卒士。事已大毕，乃临于海。皇帝之功，勤劳本事。上农除末，黔首是富。普天之下，转心揖志。器械一量，同书文字。日月所

【今译】

意教诲臣下。古训经典得到充分宣传，远近各方都治理得很好，都听从圣上主张。贵贱分明，男女遵守各自的礼仪，慎守职责。明辨内外，无不清净，传于后世。教化所及，无穷无尽，遵奉遗诏，永受圣戒。

于是沿勃海向东经过黄县、腓县，登到成山顶，登上之罘山，立石碑歌颂秦德后才离开。

向南登上琅邪山，非常高兴，停留了三个月。又迁移三万户到琅邪台下，免除他们十二年的赋税徭役。造琅邪台，立石碑刻字，歌颂秦的功德，表明自己志得意满的心情。碑文是：

在二十八年，皇帝创始。端正法度，万物有了纲纪。政治修明，父子和睦。圣智仁义，宣明道理。安抚东土，巡视官兵。大事已毕，到了海边。皇帝之功，为大事操劳。重农抑商，百姓富足。普天之下，专心致志。统一度量，统一文字。



Wide spread his teachings, all far and near is well ordered according to his will;

High and low are set apart, men and women observe the proprieties, fulfil their different tasks;

Public and private affairs are clearly distinguished; peace reigns and will endure till a future age;

His influence knows no end, his will is obeyed and his orders will remain through eternity.

The emperor proceeded east from Bohai past Huang and Chui to the tip of Mount Cheng, then climbed Mount Zhifu to erect a stone monument extolling the virtue of Qin. From there he went south to ascend Mount Langya and was so struck by the place that he stayed there for three months. He moved thirty thousand families of the black-headed people to the foot of this mountain, exempting them from taxation and conscription for twelve years. The emperor had a tower built on Mount Langya and a stone inscription set up to praise the power of Qin and make clear his will. The inscription read:

In the twenty-eighth year of his reign
A new age is inaugurated by the Emperor;
Rules and measures are rectified,
The myriad things set in order,
Human affairs are made clear
And there is harmony between fathers and sons.
The Emperor in his sagacity, benevolence and justice
Has made all laws and principles manifest.
He set forth to pacify the east,
To inspect officers and men;
This great task accomplished
He visited the coast.
Great are the Emperor's achievements,
Men attend diligently to basic tasks,
Farming is encouraged, secondary pursuits discouraged,
All the common people prosper;
All men under the sky
Toil with a single purpose;
Tools and measures are made uniform,
The written script is standardized;



【原文】

照，舟輿所载。皆终其命，莫不得意。应时动事，是维皇帝。匡饬异俗，陵水经地。忧恤黔首，朝夕不懈。除疑定法，咸知所辟。方伯分职，诸治经易。举错必当，莫不如画。皇帝之明，临察四方。尊卑贵贱，不逾次行。奸邪不容，皆务贞良。细大尽力，莫敢怠荒。远迩辟隐，专务肃庄。端直敦忠，事业有常。皇帝之德，存定四极。诛乱除害，兴利致福。节事以时，诸产繁殖。黔首安宁，不用兵革。六亲相保，终无寇贼。欢欣奉教，尽知法式。六合之内，皇帝之土。西涉流沙，南尽北户。东有东海，北过大夏。人迹所至，无不臣者。功盖五帝，泽及牛马。莫不受德，各安其宇。

【今译】

日月所照，舟车所载。全部贯彻天命，无不得意。按时办事，自有皇帝。整顿异俗，跋山涉水。怜惜百姓，日夜不懈。解惑定法，皆明准则。地方长官，职责分明，政令容易施行。措施得当，无不明确。皇帝圣明，巡察四方。尊卑贵贱，不逾等级。不容奸邪，务求贞良。大事小事尽力而为，不敢荒废怠慢。远近各处的偏僻隐蔽之地，都做到严肃庄重。正直忠厚，事业恒稳。皇帝布德，平定四方。除乱去害，兴利致福。按时令省减劳役，各业繁荣增殖。百姓安宁，不用兵戈。六亲相保，始终没有盗贼。欢欣接受教诲，百姓都懂法制。天地四方，是皇帝的疆土。西过流沙，南到北户。东含东海，北过大夏。人迹所至，无不臣服。功盖五帝，恩及牛马。人人受德，个个安居。



Wherever the sun and moon shine.
Wherever one can go by boat or by carriage,
Men carry out their orders
And satisfy their desires;
For our Emperor in accordance with the time
Has regulated local customs,
Made waterways and divided up the land.
Caring for the common people,
He works day and night without rest;
He defines the laws, leaving nothing in doubt,
Making known what is forbidden.
The local officials have their duties,
Administration is smoothly carried out,
All is done correctly, all according to plan.
The Emperor in his wisdom
Inspects all four quarters of his realm;
High and low, noble and humble,
None dare overshoot the mark;
No evil or impropriety is allowed,
All strive to be good men and true,
And exert themselves in tasks great and small;
None dares to idle or ignore his duties,
But in far-off, remote places
Serious and decorous administrators
Work steadily, just and loyal.
Great is the virtue of our Emperor
Who pacifies all four corners of the earth,
Who punishes traitors, roots out evil men,
And with profitable measures brings prosperity.
Tasks are done at the proper season,
All things flourish and grow;
The common people know peace
And have laid aside weapons and armour;
Kinsmen care for each other,
There are no robbers or thieves;
Men delight in his rule,
All understanding the law and discipline.
The universe entire
Is our Emperor's realm,
Extending west to the Desert,
South to where the houses face north,
East to the East Ocean,
North to beyond Daxia;
Wherever human life is found,
All acknowledge his suzerainty,
His achievements surpass those of the Five Emperors,
His kindness reaches even the beasts of the field;
All creatures benefit from his virtue,
All live in peace at home.



【原文】

维秦王兼有天下，立名为皇帝，乃抚东土，至于琅邪。列侯武城侯王离、列侯通武侯王贲、伦侯建成侯赵亥、伦侯昌武侯成、伦侯武信侯冯毋择、丞相隗林、丞相王綰、卿李斯、卿王戊、五大夫赵婴、五大夫杨樛从，与议于海上。曰：“古之帝者，地不过千里，诸侯各守其封域，或朝或否，相侵暴乱，残伐不止，犹刻金石，以自为纪。古之五帝三王，知教不同，法度不明，假威鬼神，以欺远方，实不称名，故不久长。其身未殁，诸侯倍叛，法令不行。今皇帝并一海内，以为郡县，天下和平。昭明宗庙，体道行德，尊号大成。群臣相与诵皇帝功德，刻于金石，以为表经。”

既已，齐人徐市等上书，言海中有三神山，名曰蓬莱、方丈、瀛洲，仙人居之。请得斋戒，与童男女求之。于是遣徐市发童男女

【今译】

此时秦兼并天下，立名号为“皇帝”，安抚东疆，到了琅邪。列侯武城侯王离、列侯通武侯王贲、伦侯建成侯赵亥、伦侯昌武侯成、伦侯武信侯冯毋择、丞相隗林、丞相王綰、卿李斯、卿王戊、五大夫赵婴、五大夫杨樛跟随，在海上参与评议皇帝的功德。都说：“古代帝王，土地不过千里，诸侯各自守住分封的地区，有的朝见，有的不朝见，互相攻伐，争战不休，还刻金石，铭记自家战功。古时的五帝三王，知识教育各不相同，法制不明，藉鬼神之威，欺骗远方，名不符实，所以不能长久。还未去世，诸侯就背叛了他，法令不能推行。现在皇帝统一天下，设置郡县，天下和平。昭明宗庙，实行德政，皇帝尊号名实完备。群臣一起歌颂皇帝功德，刻于金石，作为表率 and 典范。

事情完后，齐人徐市等上书，说海中有三座神山，名叫蓬莱、方丈、瀛洲，仙人住在那里。请求在斋戒后，带童男童女去访求仙



Since conquering all under heaven, the king of Qin has assumed the title of Sovereign Emperor and made a tour of inspection of his eastern territory, coming to Langya. In his escort are the enfeoffed nobles Wang Li marquis of Wucheng and Wang Ben marquis of Tongwu, the nobles without fief Zhao Hai marquis of Jiancheng, Cheng marquis of Changwu and Feng Wuzhe marquis of Wuxin, as well as the prime ministers Wei Lin and Wang Wan, the ministers Li Si and Wang Wu, the ministers of the fifth rank Zhao Ying and Yang Jiu. These took counsel together at the coast and said, "The territory of the ancient overlords never exceeded a thousand square *li* and the local rulers had their own states; some paid homage to the central power, but not so others. They never ceased from violence and war among themselves, yet had their deeds recorded on stone and bronze. The Five Emperors and Three Kings of old pursued different policies and had no clear legal system. They posed as divine to deceive subjects far away, but their deeds did not measure up to their fame and so their rule could not endure. Even before their death their barons rebelled and their orders were not obeyed.

"Now our Sovereign Emperor has united all the land within the Four Seas as his provinces and counties. All under heaven is at peace, to the glory of the imperial ancestral temple. The emperor carries out the True Way and practises virtue, living up to his exalted title. So we, his subjects, praise his virtuous deeds and have inscribed them on bronze and stone as examples and models for all."

After this inscription was made, Xu Fu of Qi and others presented a memorial saying, "In the ocean are three fairy islands called Penglai, Fangzhang and Yingzhou, where immortals live. We beg to be sent in search of these with some young boys and girls after fasting and

【原文】

数千人，入海求仙人。

始皇还，过彭城，斋戒祷祠，欲出周鼎泗水。使千人没水求之，弗得。乃西南渡淮水，之衡山、南郡。浮江，至湘山祠。逢大风，几不得渡。上问博士曰：“湘君何神？”博士对曰：“闻之，尧女，舜之妻，而葬此。”于是始皇大怒，使刑徒三千人皆伐湘山树，赭其山。上自南郡由武关归。

二十九年，始皇东游。至阳武博狼沙中，为盗所惊。求弗得，乃令天下大索十日。

登之罘，刻石。其辞曰：

维二十九年，时在中春，阳和方起。皇帝东游，巡登之罘，临照于海。从臣嘉观，原念休烈，追诵本始。大圣作治，

【今译】

人。于是派徐市征发童男童女数千人，到海上去找仙人。

始皇回来时，经过彭城，斋戒祷祭，想从泗水中捞到周鼎。派一千多人潜水去找，没有找到。于是向西南渡过淮水，到了衡山、南郡。沿长江而下，到了湘山祠。遇到大风，几乎不能渡过。皇帝问博士道：“湘君是什么神？”博士回答说：“听说是尧的女儿、舜的妻子，埋葬在这里。”于是始皇大怒，派三千囚犯把湘山上的树伐光，使山一片光秃。始皇从南郡经武关回京城。

二十九年(公元前218年)，始皇东游。到了阳武博狼沙时，被强盗惊吓。没有捉拿到，于是下令全国大规模地搜索了十天。

登上之罘山，刻石碑。碑文是：

在二十九年，时令仲春，阳和之气始升。皇帝东游，巡登之罘山，观览大海。随臣们赞美此行，推溯伟业之初，追颂创



purification." Accordingly the emperor sent Xu Fu with several thousand boys and girls out to sea to find the immortals.

The emperor broke his return journey at Pengcheng where he fasted, purified himself and sacrificed at the shrine, in the hope of recovering the bronze tripod of Zhou from the River Si. A thousand divers searched for it, but in vain. The emperor continued southwest, crossed the River Huai and proceeded to the Heng Mountains and the province of Nanjun. He then sailed down the Yangtse to the Temple of Mount Xiang, but a great gale sprang up and the ship had difficulty in crossing the river.

The emperor asked his learned men, "Who is the goddess called the Princess of the River Xiang?"

"They say she was Emperor Yao's daughter and the wife of Emperor Shun," they replied. "She is buried here."

Then the emperor in his rage made three thousand convicts cut down all the trees on Mount Xiang, leaving the mountain bare, after which he returned from Nanjun to the capital by way of the Wu Pass.

In the twenty-ninth year the emperor, travelling east to Bolangsha in the county of Yangwu, was threatened by an assassin. A search was made for the man but he could not be found. Thereupon a ten days' search was ordered throughout the empire. The emperor ascended Mount Zhifu and had the following inscription carved on stone:

In the twenty-ninth year in mid-spring, the start of the sunny season,
The Emperor made a tour of inspection in the east, ascended Mount
Zhifu and reached the ocean;

His subjects, following in his train, think of his illustrious virtue and
recall the beginning;

Under the Great Sage's rule, laws were set down, principles made
manifest;



【原文】

建定法度，显著纲纪。外教诸侯，光施文惠，明以义理。六国回辟，贪戾无厌，虐杀不已。皇帝哀众，遂发讨师，奋扬武德。义诛信行，威焯旁达，莫不宾服。烹灭强暴，振救黔首，周定四极。普施明法，经纬天下，永为仪则。大矣哉！宇县之中，承顺圣意。群臣诵功，请刻于石，表垂于常式。

其东观曰：

维二十九年，皇帝春游，览省远方。逮于海隅，遂登之罟，昭临朝阳。观望广丽，从臣咸念；原道至明。圣法初兴，清理疆内，外诛暴强。武威旁畅，振动四极，禽灭六王。阡并天下，灾害绝息，永偃戎兵。皇帝明德，经理宇内，视听不怠。作立大义，昭设备器，咸有章旗。职臣遵分，各知所行，

【今译】

基之时。圣君治国，建定法制，明确纲纪。外教诸侯，用文德之光照耀他们，阐明义理。六国之君奸邪乖僻，贪得无厌，虐杀不止。皇帝怜惜百姓，于是发兵征讨，奋扬武德。仗义讨伐，守信而行，威烈遍布四方，无不臣服。消灭强暴，赈救百姓，安定四方。普施明法，治理天下，永为法则。伟大啊！普天之下，顺承圣意。群臣歌颂功德，请求刻石碑，表率流传，永为典范。

在东观刻碑文为：

在二十九年，皇帝春游。视察远方。到达海边，登上之罟山，欣赏朝阳。眺望景色，广阔绚丽，随从之臣都在思念，推原治道，十分明确。圣法初立，廓清国内，外诛强暴。军威普扬，震动四方，擒灭六王。统一天下，灾害灭绝，永息兵革。皇帝明德，治理天下，博采众议，不知倦怠。创立大义，设置器物，完备周到，都有标识。臣下各遵职分，各知所行，事无

He taught other states, shed the light of his kindness abroad to illumine the right;
The six states, insatiable and perverse, would not make an end of slaughter,
Till, pitying the people, the Emperor sent troops to punish the wicked and to display his might.
His penalties were just, his actions true, his power spread far, all submitted to his rule;
He wiped out tyrants, rescued the black-headed people, brought peace to the four corners of the earth;
His enlightened laws spread far and wide as examples to all under heaven till the end of time.
Great is he, indeed! The whole universe obeys his sagacious will;
His subjects praise his achievements and have asked to inscribe them on stone for posterity.

The inscription on the eastern monument was as follows:

In the spring of the twenty-ninth year, the Emperor inspected distant parts;
As far as the coast he went, and ascended Zhifu to face the bright morning sun;
Gazing at that splendid view, his retinue recalled his illustrious ways:
At the beginning of his sagacious rule, he cleansed the state, punished tyrants beyond the border;
His growing might made earth's four corners shake, destroyed the six princes;
Then he unified all under heaven, uprooted evil, put an end to war.
Great is the Emperor's virtue! He rules the earth, tireless in his exertions,
Sets a standard of proper bearings and signs for all things;
His subjects follow their respective callings, knowing their duties, acting without hesitation;



【原文】

事无嫌疑。黔首改化，远迩同度，临古绝尤。常职既定，后嗣循业，长承圣治。群臣嘉德，祇诵圣烈，请刻之罾。

旋，遂之琅邪，道上党人。

三十年，无事。

三十一年十二月，更名腊曰“嘉平”。赐黔首里六石米，二羊。始皇为微行咸阳，与武士四人俱，夜出逢盗兰池，见窘，武士击杀盗，关中大索二十日。米石千六百。

三十二年，始皇之碣石，使燕人卢生求羡门、高誓。刻碣石门。坏城郭，决通隄防。其辞曰：

遂兴师旅，诛戮无道，为逆灭息。武殄暴逆，文复无罪，庶心咸服。惠论功劳，赏及牛马，恩肥土域。皇帝奋威，德并

【今译】

嫌疑。百姓接受教化，远近同一规矩，到老也没有罪过。常职确定，子孙继业，永承圣治。群臣赞美皇帝至德，敬颂圣上的功业，请求在之罾山刻石碑。

返回，于是到了琅邪，又路过上党，入京城。

三十年(公元前217年)，无事。

三十一年(公元前216年)十二月，改称腊月为“嘉平”。赐给每里百姓六石米、两只羊。始皇从咸阳便装出行，同四个武士一起，夜里出门，在兰池遇到了强盗，情势窘迫，武士们击杀了强盗，在关中大规模搜索了二十天。米价每石一千六百钱。

三十二年(公元前215年)，始皇到了碣石，派燕人卢生访求羡门、高誓。在碣石门刻碑文。毁坏城郭，决通堤防。刻文是：

发动军队，诛杀无道，消除叛乱。用武力铲除暴虐，以文道保卫无罪之人，百姓心服。评奖功劳，赏及牛马，恩施全



The black-headed people are reformed; he surpasses the ancients and is
free from errors;

All tasks are assigned, and later generations will follow his sagacious
rule;

His subjects, delighting in his virtue and noble deeds, have asked that
they be inscribed at Zhifu.

Then the emperor returned to Langya, thence back to his capital
by way of Shangdang.

In the thirtieth year nothing of moment occurred.

In the twelfth month of the thirty-first year, gifts were bestowed
on the common people, each village receiving six piculs of rice and
two sheep. The emperor left the capital incognito accompanied by
four armed guards. Going out at night he met with brigands at Lanchi
and his life was endangered, but his guards killed the brigands. Then
for twenty days a great search was made for brigands within the Pass.
The price of rice was no higher than sixteen hundred cash a picul.

In the thirty-second year the emperor went to Jieshi and sent a
scholar of Yan named Lu to find the immortals Xian Men and Gao
Shi. The walls of Jieshi were pulled down, its moats and fortifications
abolished. An inscription was carved on the city gate which read:

Troops raised to punish the lawless have wiped out rebels,

The wicked are put down by force, the innocent are peacefully rewarded
and the people obey from their hearts;

Merit is rewarded with gifts of cattle and fertile lands;

The Emperor in his might overcame other states by virtue and was the
first to unify the empire.



【原文】

诸侯，初一泰平。堕坏城郭，决通川防，夷去险阻。地势既定，黎庶无徭，天下咸抚。男乐其畴，女修其业，事各有序。惠被诸产，久并来田，莫不安所。群臣诵烈，请刻此石，垂著仪矩。

因使韩终、侯公、石生求仙人不死之药。始皇巡北边，从上郡入。燕人卢生使人海还，以鬼神事，因奏录图书，曰“亡秦者胡也”。始皇乃使将军蒙恬发兵三十万人北击胡，略取河南地。

三十三年，发诸尝逋亡人、赘婿、贾人略取陆梁地，为桂林、象郡、南海，以适遣戍。西北斥逐匈奴。自榆中并河以东，属之阴山，以为四十四县，城河上为塞。又使蒙恬渡河取高阙、阳山、北假中，筑亭障以逐戎人。徙谪，实之初县。禁不得祠。明星出西

【今译】

国。皇帝扬威，以德政兼并诸侯，才成一统。拆除城郭，决通河防，铲除险阻。地势已定，百姓没有徭役，天下安抚。男子高兴地务农，女子忙于家务，事各有序。恩惠遍及各行各业，或分或合，耕种麦田，无不安居。群臣歌颂功业，请刻此石，垂留典范。

于是派韩终、侯公、石生去寻找仙人长生不死的药。始皇巡行北部边疆，经上郡回京城。燕人卢生出使海边回来，上报鬼神之事，还进上抄录的文书谶语，写道“灭亡秦朝的是胡”。始皇于是派将军蒙恬发兵三十万北上攻打胡人，夺取河南地区。

三十三年(公元前214年)，征发各种逃亡罪犯、上门女婿、商人去夺取陆梁地区，设置桂林、象郡、南海郡，派被贬谪的人去防守。西北驱逐匈奴。从榆中沿黄河往东，直到阴山，建成四十四个县，沿黄河筑城作为要塞。又派蒙恬渡过黄河夺取高阙、阳山、北假地区，建筑堡垒驱逐戎狄。迁移被贬的人，去让他们充实新设的



City walls are demolished, moats and defences dug up, all barriers levelled;
The land is subdued, an end made to conscript labour, the world is at
peace.

Men take pleasure in farming and women care for the home; there is
order in all things;

His kindness extends to all, the land is shared out, all live content with
their lot.

His ministers, admiring his virtue, ask to have this inscribed on stone as
a model for all time.

The emperor ordered Han Zhong, Hou and a scholar named Shi to go in search of the elixirs of the immortals. Then he inspected the northern frontier, returning by way of Shangjun. A scholar named Lu of Yan came back from the sea with accounts of spirits and deities who had predicted Qin's overthrow by "Hu". Then the emperor ordered General Meng Tian to lead three hundred thousand troops against the Huns in the north, and conquered the land south of the Yellow River.

In the thirty-third year those who had evaded conscription, men living with their wives' families, and tradesmen were conscripted to conquer Luliang; then the provinces of Guilin, Xiangjun and Nanhai were created and convicts sent to garrison them. The Huns in the north-west were driven back. The region from Yuzhong to east of the Yellow River was incorporated with Yinshan, making thirty-four counties. Ramparts were built along the river as frontier defences. Then Meng Tian was sent across the Yellow River to conquer Gaoque, Yangshan and Beijia. Outposts and defences were set up to resist the tribesmen and convicts were sent to populate the new counties. The sacrifice to

【原文】

方。三十四年，適治狱吏不直者，筑长城及南越地。

始皇置酒咸阳宫，博士七十人前为寿。仆射周青臣进颂曰：“他时秦地不过千里，赖陛下神灵明圣，平定海内，放逐蛮夷，日月所照，莫不宾服。以诸侯为郡县，人人自安乐，无战争之患，传之万世。自上古不及陛下威德。”始皇悦。博士齐人淳于越进曰：“臣闻殷周之王千余岁，封子弟功臣，自为枝辅。今陛下有海内，而子弟为匹夫，卒有田常、六卿之臣，无辅拂，何以相救哉？事不师古而能长久者，非所闻也。今青臣又面谀以重陛下之过，非忠臣。”始皇下其议。丞相李斯曰：“五帝不相复，三代不相袭，各以治，非其相反，时变异也。今陛下创大业，建万世之功，固非愚

【今译】

县。下禁令不许祭祀。彗星出现在西方。三十四年，贬谪不正直的狱吏，让他们修筑长城或防守南越地区。

始皇在咸阳宫设酒宴，博士七十人上前敬酒。仆射周青臣上前颂扬道：“以前秦国土地不过千里，全靠陛下神灵明圣，平定天下，赶走蛮夷，日月照及之处，无不臣服。改诸侯国为郡县，人人安居乐业，没有战争的祸患，天下万代相传。自上古以来，没人比得上陛下的威德。”始皇很高兴。博士齐人淳于越进言道：“臣听说殷、周的君王统治天下一千多年，分封子弟功臣，作为辅佐。现在陛下拥有天下，而子弟却是普通百姓，一旦出现田常、六卿之类的臣子，没有辅助之人，怎么来挽救呢？办事不以古人为师而能长久的，我从未听说过。现在周青臣又当面奉承以加重陛下的过失，不是一个忠臣。”始皇把他的意见交臣下讨论。丞相李斯说：“五帝不相重复，三代不相因袭，各自按自己的方法治理，并非故意要不同，是时代改变了。现在陛下开创大业，建立了万代不朽的功





the Morning Star was forbidden. A comet was seen in the west.

In the thirty-fourth year, officers of justice who had done wrong were sent to build the Great Wall or to Southern Yue. The emperor gave a feast in Xianyang Palace, and seventy learned men came and offered toasts.

The archery officer Zhou Qingchen recited this eulogy: "Formerly Qin covered no more than a thousand square *li*. Now thanks to your divine sagacity all the land within the Four Seas has been conquered and the barbarian tribes driven far away. All men under the sun and the moon acknowledge your sovereignty, the various states have been made provinces and counties; the people enjoy peace with no fear of war, and so it will be for ten thousand generations. From ancient times there has been no match for Your Majesty's might and virtue." The emperor was pleased.

Then up stepped Chunyu Yue, a scholar of Qi, who said, "I have heard that the Shang and Zhou Dynasties lasted more than a thousand years because fiefs were given to younger members of the royal house or meritorious ministers, who set up tributary states. Now Your Majesty holds all the land within the Four Seas, yet your relations are still commoners. Should you have such disloyal subjects as Tian Chang of Qi or the six lords of Jin, how could the dynasty be saved without the assistance of barons? I have yet to hear of anything able to endure that was not based on ancient precedents. Zhou Qingchen's flattery will lead you into error. He is not a loyal subject."

The emperor ordered his ministers to debate this question.

The prime minister Li Si said, "The Five Emperors did not emulate each other nor did the Three Dynasties adopt each other's ways, yet all had good government. This is not paradox, because times had changed. Now Your Majesty has built up this great empire to endure for generations without end. Naturally this passes the comprehension

【原文】

儒所知。且越言乃三代之事，何足法也？异时诸侯并争，厚招游学。今天下已定，法令出一，百姓当家则力农工，士则学习法令辟禁。今诸生不师今而学古，以非当世，惑乱黔首。丞相臣斯昧死言：古者天下散乱，莫之能一，是以诸侯并作，语皆道古以害今，饰虚言以乱实，人善其所私学，以非上之所建立。今皇帝并有天下，别黑白而定一尊。私学而相与非法教，人闻令下，则各以其学议之，入则心非，出则巷议，夸主以为名，异取以为高，率群下以造谤。如此弗禁，则主势降乎上，党与成乎下。禁之便。臣请史官非秦记皆烧之。非博士官所职，天下敢有藏《诗》、《书》、百家语者，悉诣守、尉杂烧之。有敢偶语《诗》、《书》者弃市。以古非今

【今译】

业，本不是愚蠢的儒生所能理解的。而且淳于越说的是三代旧事，哪里值得效法呢？从前诸侯纷争，重金招徕游说之士。现在天下已经安定，法令统一，百姓在家就努力耕作，读书人就应学习法令刑禁。现在儒生们不以今人为师而学习古人，来非议当世，惑乱百姓。臣丞相李斯冒死进言：古代天下分散紊乱，没人能统一，因此诸侯群起，议论都是称道古代，非难当今，粉饰虚夸，以淆乱真实，人人欣赏自己私下学的知识，来非议圣上确立的制度。现在皇帝统一了天下，辨别黑白，定于一尊。私家学问又一起反对法制教化，人们一听到法令下达，就以各自的学问来评议，入朝时心存反感，出朝后就街谈巷议，浮言欺主以盗名，标新立异以为高明，率领臣下制造谣言。这样如还不禁止，那么在上君威就会下降，在下党羽就会形成。要禁止这些才行。我请求史官将不是秦国历史的史书全部烧毁。不是博士官所职掌，天下有敢收藏《诗》、《书》、诸子百家著作的，都要交给地方官员一起烧掉。有敢相互一起谈论



of a foolish pedant. Chunyu Yue spoke about the Three Dynasties, but they are hardly worth taking as examples. In times gone by different barons fought among themselves and gathered wandering scholars. Today, however, the empire is at peace, all laws and order come from one single source, the common people support themselves by farming and handicrafts, while students study the laws and prohibitions.

“Now these scholars learn only from the old, not from the new, and use their learning to oppose our rule and confuse the black-headed people. As prime minister I must speak out on pain of death. In former times when the world, torn by chaos and disorder, could not be united, different states arose and argued from the past to condemn the present, using empty rhetoric to cover up and confuse the real issues, and employing their learning to oppose what was established by authority. Now Your Majesty has conquered the whole world, distinguished between black and white, set unified standards. Yet these opinionated scholars get together to slander the laws and judge each new decree according to their own school of thought, opposing it secretly in their hearts while discussing it openly in the streets. They brag to the sovereign to win fame, put forward strange arguments to gain distinction, and incite the mob to spread rumours. If this is not prohibited, the sovereign’s prestige will suffer and factions will be formed among his subjects. Far better put a stop to it!

“I humbly propose that all historical records but those of Qin be burned. If anyone who is not a court scholar dares to keep the ancient songs, historical records or writings of the hundred schools, these should be confiscated and burned by the provincial governor and army commander. Those who in conversation dare to quote the old songs



【原文】

者族。吏见知不举者与同罪。令下三十日不烧，黥为城旦。所不去者，医药卜筮种树之书。若欲有学法令，以吏为师。”制曰：“可。”

三十五年，除道，道九原抵云阳，堑山堙谷，直通之。于是始皇以为咸阳人多，先王之宫廷小，吾闻周文王都丰，武王都镐，丰镐之间，帝王之都也。乃营作朝宫渭南上林苑中。先作前殿阿房，东西五百步，南北五十丈，上可以坐万人，下可以建五丈旗。周驰为阁道，自殿下直抵南山。表南山之颠以为阙。为复道，自阿房渡渭，属之咸阳，以象天极阁道绝汉抵营室也。阿房宫未成，成，欲更择令名名之。作宫阿房，故天下谓之阿房宫。隐宫徒刑者七十余万人，乃分作阿房宫，或作丽山。发北山石椁，乃写蜀、荆地材皆

【今译】

《诗》、《书》的处死。凡以古非今的灭族。官吏知情而不检举的同罪。命令下达三十天不烧书的，受黥刑，去筑城。不用烧毁的，只是医药、卜筮、种树一类的书。如想学习法令，就以官吏为师。”始皇下令道：“可以。”

三十五年(公元前212年)，修治道路，从九原到云阳，开山填谷，一直连通起来。这时始皇认为咸阳人多，先王的宫廷小，我听说周文王建都在丰，武王建都在镐，丰、镐之间，是帝王建都的地方。于是在渭水南岸上林苑中建造朝宫。先建前殿阿房，东西五百步，南北五十丈，上面可坐下一万人，下面可竖起五丈高的旗子。四周环绕有天桥，自殿下直达南山。在南山顶上建门楼作为标志。造天桥，自阿房渡过渭水，与咸阳相连，用以象征从北极星经阁道星横渡天河抵达营室。阿房宫没建成时，想建成以后，再选一个好名字称呼它。在阿房建造宫室，所以天下人称之为阿房宫。受过宫刑、徒刑的七十多万人，分别被派去修建阿房宫，或去营建丽



and records should be publicly executed; those who use old precedents to oppose the new order should have their families wiped out; and officers who know of such cases but fail to report them should be punished in the same way.

"If thirty days after the issuing of this order the owners of these books have still not had them destroyed, they should have their faces tattooed and be condemned to hard labour at the Great Wall. The only books which need not be destroyed are those dealing with medicine, divination and agriculture. Those who want to study the law can learn it from the officers." The emperor sanctioned this proposal.

In the thirty-fifth year a highway was built through Jiuyuan to Yunyang. To make it straight, hills were razed and valleys filled.

The emperor said, "Xianyang is overcrowded and the palaces of the former kings are too small. I have heard that King Wen of Zhou had his capital at Feng, King Wu at Hao. The region between Feng and Hao is fit to be an imperial capital."

He had palaces constructed in the Shanglin Gardens south of the River Wei. The front palace, Epang, built first, was five hundred paces from east to west, and five hundred feet from south to north. The terraces above could seat ten thousand, and below there was room for banners fifty feet in height. One causeway round the palace led to the South Hill at the top of which a gateway was erected; another led across the River Wei to Xianyang, just as the Heavenly Corridor in the sky leads from the Apex of Heaven across the Milky Way to the Royal Chamber. Before the completion of this palace, the emperor wished to choose a good name for it. But because of its proximity to the old palace, it was commonly called Epang, which means beside the palace. A labour force of more than seven hundred thousand — men punished by castration or sentenced to penal servitude — was drafted to



【原文】

至。关中计宫三百，关外四百余。于是立石东海上朐界中，以为秦东门。因徙三万家丽邑，五万家云阳，皆复不事十岁。

卢生说始皇曰：“臣等求芝奇药仙者常弗遇，类物有害之者。方中，人主时为微行以辟恶鬼，恶鬼辟，真人至。人主所居而人臣知之，则害于神。真人者，入水不濡，入火不爇，陵云气，与天地久长。今上治天下，未能恬佚。愿上所居宫毋令人知，然后不死之药殆可得也。”于是始皇曰：“吾慕真人，自谓‘真人’，不称‘朕’。”乃令咸阳之旁二百里内宫观二百七十复道甬道相连，帷帐钟鼓美人充之，各案署不移徙。行所幸，有言其处者，罪死。始皇

【今译】

山。开发北山的石料，把蜀地、荆地的木材都运到了。关中共修建宫殿三百座，关外四百多座。于是在东海边朐山上立石，作为秦的东门。又把三万户迁到丽邑，五万户迁到云阳，免除他们十年的赋税和徭役。

卢生劝说始皇道：“我们去寻找灵芝、奇药、仙人，常常碰不到，好像有东西妨碍了它们。有种办法，就是要皇帝时常秘密出行来驱逐恶鬼，恶鬼被赶走，真人就到了。皇帝住的地方如果让臣子们知道了，就会妨碍神灵。真人，就是入水不湿，入火不烧，腾云驾雾，和天地共长久。现在皇上治理天下，没能做到清静无忧。希望您住的宫室不要让别人知道，这样不死之药大概就能够得到。”于是始皇说：“我羡慕真人，我就自号‘真人’，不称‘朕’了。”于是下令咸阳附近二百里内的二百七十座宫观用天桥、甬道互相连通，帷帐、钟鼓、美人充满宫观，各自登记下来不再迁移。皇帝出行留住时，有敢说出那地方的，处死罪。始皇帝有一次到梁



build Epang Palace and the emperor's tomb on Mount Li. Stone was quarried from the northern hills, timber shipped from Shu and Chu. Three hundred palaces were built within the Pass, and east of it more than four hundred.

A stone monument was set up on Mount Qu near the eastern coast as the East Gate of the Qin Empire. Thirty thousand families were settled in Liyi and fifty thousand in Yunyang, with ten years' exemption from taxation and conscription.

The scholar Lu reported to the emperor, "Our search for magic fungus, rare herbs and immortals has come to nothing. It seems some sinister influence was against us. It is my sincere opinion that you would be well advised to change your quarters secretly from time to time, in order to avoid evil spirits; for in their absence some pure being will come. For subjects to know their sovereign's whereabouts detracts from his divinity. A pure being is one who cannot be wet by water or burned by fire, who rides on the clouds and air and endures as long as heaven and earth. Since he who governs the empire cannot lead a pure, simple life, we hope Your Majesty will not let it be known in which palace you are staying, for then we should be able to obtain the herb of immortality."

"I wish to be a pure being," replied the emperor. "I shall refer to myself in this way and stop using the royal 'we'." He gave orders for the two hundred and seventy palaces and pavilions within two hundred *li* of Xianyang to be connected by causeways and covered walks and furnished with hangings, bells, drums and beautiful ladies, each in the appointed place. Disclosure of his whereabouts became punishable with death.

When the emperor went to his palace at Liangshan he was dis-

【原文】

帝幸梁山宫，从山上见丞相车骑众，弗善也。中人或告丞相，丞相后损车骑。始皇怒曰：“此中人泄吾语。”案问莫服。当是时，诏捕诸时在旁者，皆杀之。自是后莫知行之所在。听事，群臣受决事，悉于咸阳宫。

侯生卢生相与谋曰：“始皇为人，天性刚戾自用，起诸侯，并天下，意得欲从，以为自古莫及己。专任狱吏，狱吏得亲幸。博士虽七十人，特备员弗用。丞相诸大臣皆受成事，倚辨于上。上乐以刑杀为威，天下畏罪持禄，莫敢尽忠。上不闻过而日骄，下慑伏谄欺以取容。秦法，不得兼方不验，辄死。然候星气者至三百人，皆良士，畏忌讳谏，不敢端言其过。天下之事无小大皆决于上，上至

【今译】

山宫，从山上望见丞相车马很多，觉得不好。宫中有人告知了丞相，丞相后来减少了车马。始皇发怒道：“这是宫里人泄露了我的话。”审问，没有人承认。这时，始皇下令逮捕所有当时在场的人，全部杀掉。从此以后没人知道皇帝的行踪。皇帝听政，群臣接受诏令，都在咸阳宫。

侯生、卢生在一起商量道：“始皇为人，天性刚戾自用，出身诸侯，兼并天下，志得意满，认为自古以来没人比得上他。特别重用狱吏，狱吏得到宠幸。博士虽有七十人，只是凑数，并不任用。丞相和大臣们都接受成命，倚仗皇上办事。皇上乐于以重刑和杀戮建立威势，天下人畏罪怕事，想得到官位，没人敢尽忠劝谏。皇上听不到自己的过失日益骄横，臣子担心害怕，欺骗主上苟取容身之地。按照秦法，一人不能兼有两种方术，方术不灵验，立即处死。可观测星象的三百人，都是良好的人才，害怕皇帝，讳过献谀，不敢直言皇上的过失。天下之事无论大小都由皇帝决定，以致皇上每



pleased to see from the mountain what a great retinue the prime minister had. One of the palace eunuchs informed the prime minister, who thereupon reduced his retinue. The emperor was angry and said, "Someone here has been telling tales." When none of the eunuchs whom he cross-examined would admit it, he had all those with him at the time seized and killed. After this his movements were kept secret, but it was always in Xianyang Palace that he heard his ministers' reports and made decisions.

The scholars Hou and Lu took counsel together, saying, "The emperor is stubborn and self-willed. Starting as the prince of one state, he conquered the whole empire, and now that all his ambitions are realized he thinks no one since time immemorial can compare with him. He relies solely on the law officers, whom he trusts. Although there are seventy court scholars, their posts are just sinecures for he never listens to them. The prime minister and other high officials only deal with routine matters on which the decisions have already been made, leaving all to the emperor. He loves to intimidate men with punishments and death, so that to avoid being charged with crimes those who draw stipends dare not speak out loyally. The emperor, never hearing his faults condemned, is growing prouder and prouder while those below cringe in fear and try to please him with flattery and lies. According to the law of the realm, no man may practise two arts and anyone who fails in his task may be executed. No fewer than three hundred astrologers are watching the stars, but these good men, for fear of giving offence, merely flatter the emperor and dare not speak of his faults. It is he who decides all affairs of state, great or small. He



【原文】

以衡石量书，日夜有呈，不中呈不得休息。贪于权势至如此，未可为求仙药。”于是乃亡去。始皇闻亡，乃大怒曰：“吾前收天下书不中用者尽去之。悉召文学方术士甚众，欲以兴太平，方士欲练以求奇药。今闻韩众去不报，徐市等费以巨万计，终不得药，徒奸利相告日闻。卢生等吾尊赐之甚厚，今乃诽谤我，以重吾不德也。诸生在咸阳者，吾使人廉问，或为妖言以乱黔首。”于是使御史悉案问诸生，诸生传相告引，乃自除。犯禁者四百六十余人，皆坑之咸阳，使天下知之，以惩后。益发谪徙边。始皇长子扶苏谏曰：“天下初定，远方黔首未集，诸生皆诵法孔子，今上皆重法绳之，臣恐天下不安。唯上察之。”始皇怒，使扶苏北监蒙恬于上郡。

【今译】

天要用秤来称百十多斤的文书，每天每夜都有限额，不达限额不能休息。贪恋权势到了这种程度，不能为他去寻求仙药。”于是就逃走了。始皇听说他们逃走了，就大怒道：“我以前收缴天下不中用的书全部烧毁，尽力召集文学、方术之士多人，想来振兴太平之业，方士们去寻求奇药。现在听说韩众不辞而别，徐市等花费以亿计算，始终没找到奇药，只是每天听到他们互相告发非法牟利。我尊重卢生等人，赏赐非常优厚，现在却诽谤我，以加重我的行为失当。在咸阳的儒生们，我派人访察过，有人制造妖言，蛊惑百姓。”于是派御史一一审问这些人，他们互相告发，皇帝亲自判他们的罪。犯禁的有四百六十余人，都在咸阳活埋，让全国人都知道，以惩戒后人。后来又增调被贬刑徒守边。始皇长子扶苏进谏道：“天下刚刚平定，远方百姓尚未归附，儒生们都读经书，效法孔子，现在皇上用重法惩治他们，我担心天下不安定，希望皇上明察。”始皇发怒，派扶苏北上到上郡蒙恬那里监军。



even has the documents weighed every morning and night, and will not rest until a certain weight has passed through his hands. How can we find herbs of immortality for such a tyrant?" And so they ran away.

When the emperor learned of their flight he flew into a passion. "I collected all the writings of the empire and got rid of those which were no use," he fumed. "I assembled a host of scholars and alchemists to start a reign of peace, hoping the alchemists would find marvellous herbs. But I am told no more has been heard of Han Zhong and those who went with him, while Xu Fu's crowd has wasted millions without obtaining any elixir — all I hear of them is charges of corruption! Handsomely as I treated Lu and the other scholars, they are libelling me, making out that I lack virtue. I have had inquiries made about the scholars in the capital and I find that some of them are spreading vicious rumours to confuse the black-headed people."

He ordered the chief counsellor to try the scholars, who incriminated each other to save their own necks. Over four hundred and sixty, found guilty of breaking the law, were buried alive in Xianyang as a warning to the whole empire. Even more were banished to the frontier regions.

Fusu, the emperor's eldest son, protested, "The empire is newly established and the black-headed people in distant parts have not yet settled down. All those scholars uphold the teachings of Confucius, and now that you have punished them so severely I fear there may be panic throughout the land. Will you not reconsider the matter?" Angered by this, the emperor sent Fusu north to Shangjun to supervise Meng Tian's army.



【原文】

三十六年，荧惑守心。有坠星下东郡，至地为石，黔首或刻其石曰“始皇帝死而地分”。始皇闻之，遣御史逐问，莫服，尽取石旁居人诛之，因燔销其石。始皇不乐，使博士为《仙真人诗》，及行所游天下，传令乐人歌弦之。秋，使者从关东夜过华阴平舒道，有人持璧遮使者曰：“为吾遗涓池君。”因言曰：“今年祖龙死。”使者问其故，因忽不见，置其璧去。使者奉璧具以闻。始皇默然良久，曰：“山鬼固不过知一岁事也。”退言曰：“祖龙者，人之先也。”使御府视璧，乃二十八年行渡江所沈璧也。于是始皇卜之，卦得游徙吉。迁北河榆中三万家，拜爵一级。

三十七年十月癸丑，始皇出游。左丞相斯从，右丞相去疾守。

【今译】

三十六年(公元前211年)，火星侵占了心宿。有陨星从东郡上空落下，到地上成了石头，百姓中有人在石头上刻字道：“始皇帝死而土地分。”始皇听说后，派御史去逐个审问，没人承认，把住在石头旁的人全部捉拿杀掉，又烧毁了那块石头。始皇不高兴，让博士作《仙真人诗》，巡行所到之处，让乐师谱曲弹奏。秋天，有使者从关东夜间经过华阴平舒道，有人拿着玉璧拦住使者道：“替我送给涓池君。”又说道：“今年祖龙死。”使者问他原因，那人忽然不见了，扔下玉璧离去。使者捧着玉璧把情况都报告了皇上。始皇默然良久，说：“山鬼不过能预知一年的事情。”退朝后说道：“祖龙是人的祖先。”让御史审察玉璧，是二十八年时渡长江沉下的玉璧。于是始皇占卜，占得迁移吉利的一卦。迁移三万户到北河榆中地区，每户授爵位一级。

三十七年(公元前210年)十月癸丑，始皇出游。左丞相李斯跟



In the thirty-sixth year Mars approached the Scorpion's Heart. A shooting star changed into a stone when it fell to earth at Dongjun, and someone inscribed on the stone, "After the First Emperor's death the land will be divided." When word of this reached the emperor, he sent the chief counsellor to investigate. Since no one admitted to the deed, all those in the vicinity were executed and the stone was destroyed by fire.

The emperor, unable to find happiness, ordered the court scholars to write poems about immortals and pure beings, and wherever he went he made musicians set these to music and sing them. That autumn an envoy from east of the Pass, travelling down the Pingshu Road by night, was stopped at Huayin by a man with a jade disc who said, "Please give this for me to the Lord of Haochi." He added, "This year the Primal Dragon will die." When the envoy asked what he meant the stranger vanished, leaving the disc behind.

The envoy presented the disc to the emperor and told him what had happened. After a long silence the emperor remarked, "These mountain spirits can only see a year ahead." Leaving the court, he said, "The Primal Dragon means the first among men." When he ordered the Imperial Treasury to examine the jade, they discovered that this was the disc thrown into the water when he crossed the Yangtse in the twenty-eighth year. Then the emperor consulted an oracle, which said that the time was auspicious for travel and removal. Thirty thousand families were moved to Beihe and Yuzhong. Officers were promoted one rank.

In the tenth month of the thirty-seventh year, the emperor set out on a tour of inspection accompanied by the junior prime minister Li



【原文】

少子胡亥爱慕请从，上许之。十一月，行至云梦，望祀虞舜于九疑山。浮江下，观籍柯，渡海渚。过丹阳，至钱唐。临浙江，水波恶，乃西百二十里从狭中渡。上会稽，祭大禹，望于南海，而立石刻颂秦德。其文曰：

皇帝休烈，平一字内，德惠修长。三十有七年，亲巡天下，周览远方。遂登会稽，宣省习俗，黔首斋庄。群臣诵功，本原事迹，追首高明。秦圣临国，始定刑名，显陈旧章。初平法式，审别职任，以立恒常。六王专倍，贪戾傲猛，率众自强。暴虐恣行，负力而骄，数动甲兵。阴通间使，以事合从，行为辟方。内饰诈谋，外来侵边，遂起祸殃。义威诛之，殄熄暴悖，乱贼灭亡。圣德广密，六合之中，被泽无疆。皇帝并

【今译】

随，右丞相冯去疾留守。少子胡亥心存爱慕请求跟从，皇上答应了他。十一月，到了云梦，向九疑山方向遥祭虞舜。沿长江而下，观览籍柯，渡过海渚。经过丹阳，来到钱唐。到浙江边，水波汹涌，于是西行一百二十里从江面狭窄的地方渡过。登上会稽山，祭祀大禹，眺望南海，立石刻碑歌颂秦的功德。碑文是：

皇帝伟业，统一天下，恩德久远。三十七年中，亲自巡行天下，遍览远方。登上会稽，考察习俗，百姓庄重。群臣诵功，推原事迹，追溯高明。秦圣即位，开始制定法律章程，把原有章程明确公布。初整法制，慎审职责，以成定制。六王专横背理，贪暴凶傲，率众逞强。暴虐恣行，恃强骄狂，屡动干戈。暗中通使，图谋合纵，行为邪僻。内藏奸谋，外来侵边，引起祸殃。义军扬威诛灭他们，灭绝暴逆，乱贼灭亡。圣德深广，普天之下，受福无穷。皇帝统一天下，兼听万事，远方近



Si, while the deputy prime minister Feng Quji remained in the capital. Young Huhai, the emperor's favourite son, asked permission to join the tour and this was granted.

In the eleventh month they reached Yunmeng and sacrificed to Emperor Shun at Mount Jiuyi. Then they sailed down the Yangtse to inspect Jike, crossed Haizhu, passed Danyang and reached Qiantang, coming to the River Zhe. Since the waves were high, they proceeded west for another hundred and twenty *li* to cross where the river was narrower. They then ascended Mount Kuaiji and sacrificed to Yu the Great. Reaching the southern coast, they set up a tablet in praise of the dynasty's power. The inscription on it read:

Illustrious the Sovereign Emperor who has united and pacified the land, whose kindness remains for ever.

In the thirty-seventh year he toured his realm, inspecting all the distant regions;

He ascended Mount Kuaiji, examined local customs; all the black-headed people bowed in respect.

His ministers praise the Emperor's achievements and review his deeds to extol his lofty splendour.

When this sage King of Qin came to the throne, laws were amended, old ways made manifest;

He was the first to standardize regulations, distinguish different posts and establish a lasting order;

But the six princes were rebellious, rapacious, despotic, glorying in their hosts;

They committed evil, boasted of their strength, moved armies into battle; They exchanged envoys secretly to conspire against us, did what was wrong;

With guile in their hearts they invaded our land, and so they came to grief.

The Emperor quelled them with his justice and might; the tyrants were wiped out, the rebels perished.

Wide-spread, all-embracing his sagacious power, bestowing kindness forever throughout the world.

Since the Emperor conquered all below the sky, he governs all things, there is quiet far and near;



【原文】

字，兼听万事，远近毕清。运理群物，考验事实，各载其名。贵贱并通，善否陈前，靡有隐情。饰省宣义，有子而嫁，倍死不贞。防隔内外，禁止淫佚，男女洁诚。夫为寄猥，杀之无罪，男秉义程。妻为逃嫁，子不得母，咸化廉清。大治濯俗，天下承风，蒙被休经。皆遵度轨，和安敦勉，莫不顺令。黔首修洁，人乐同则，嘉保太平。后敬奉法，常治无极，舆舟不倾。从臣诵烈，请刻此石，光垂休铭。

还过吴，从江乘渡。并海上，北至琅邪。方士徐市等人海求神药，数岁不得，费多，恐谴，乃诈曰：“蓬莱药可得，然常为大鲛鱼所苦，故不得至，愿请善射与俱，见则以连弩射之。”始皇梦与

【今译】

处都已清静。驾驭万物，考核事实，各有名分，贵贱都很通达，善恶公开，没有隐情。文过饰非，有女而嫁，背弃亡夫，均为不贞。分别内外，禁止淫荡，男女忠诚。丈夫像公猪一样淫乱，杀之无罪，男子要遵守正道。妻如逃嫁，子不认母，百姓都要归顺清廉。圣治涤荡旧俗，天下沐浴新风，蒙受永恒美好的教化。都守法度，和好勤勉，无不听命。百姓纯洁，乐于共同守法，善保太平。后人恭敬守法，长久治理，永无穷尽，国家就如车船一样不倾覆。从臣颂功，请刻这石碑，光照千古，永记在心。

回来时经过吴，从江乘渡江。沿海北上，到达琅邪。方士徐市等人入海求神药，几年都没找到，花费很多，害怕受责罚，就欺骗道：“蓬莱仙药可以找到，但常被大鲛鱼所困扰，所以不能到达，请派擅长射箭的人跟我们一起去，见到鲛鱼就用连弩射它。”始皇梦见同海神交战，海神像人一样。问占梦的人，博士说：“水神不



He regulates all things, verifies facts, gives each its proper name;
High and low, good and bad are visible to him from whose eyes nothing is hidden;
He makes reforms, teaches virtue: If a widow with a son remarries, she is faithless, unchaste;
The sexes are strictly separated, licence is ended, men and women are pure and honest;
If a man commits adultery, it is no crime to kill him, thus men must observe the proper rules of conduct;
If a woman elopes with a lover her son may disown her; thus women become chaste and good.
His great rule purifies society, all come under his influence, know his beneficence;
All men keep to the path, live in peace and harmony and obey his orders;
The black-headed people are cleansed, delight in the same rules and enjoy lasting peace;
Later ages will respect his law, his rule will endure for all time, like carriages and boats that hold their course.
The ministers in his train extol his greatness and inscribe this stone as a monument to his glory.

Starting back, the emperor crossed the river at Jiangcheng and proceeded north along the coast to Langya. Xu Fu and the other alchemists, who had gone to sea to find magic herbs but failed after many years and much expense, told a lie to escape being punished. "The herbs are to be had on Penglai," they said. "But we were so harassed by monstrous whales that we could not reach the fairy isles. We would like to take some good archers with us so that when next we see the whales they can shoot them with repeating crossbows."

The emperor dreamed that he had a fight with a sea god which had assumed human form. He consulted his scholars about this dream



【原文】

海神战，如人状。问占梦，博士曰：“水神不可见，以大鱼蛟龙为候。今上祷祠备谨，而有此恶神，当除去，而善神可致。”乃令人海者赍捕巨鱼具，而自以连弩候大鱼出射之。自琅邪北至荣成山，弗见。至之罟，见巨鱼，射杀一鱼。遂并海西。

至平原津而病。始皇恶言死，群臣莫敢言死事。上病益甚，乃为玺书赐公子扶苏曰：“与丧会咸阳而葬。”书已封，在中车府令赵高行符玺事所，未授使者。七月丙寅，始皇崩于沙丘平台。丞相斯为上崩在外，恐诸公子及天下有变，乃秘之，不发丧。棺载辒辌车中，故幸宦者参乘，所至上食，百官奏事如故。宦者辄从辒辌车中可其奏事。独子胡亥、赵高及所幸宦者五六人知上死。赵高故尝

【今译】

能见到，它以大鱼蛟龙作为替身。现在皇上祭祀周到恭谨，却有这种恶神，应当除掉它，善神才能来。”于是命令入海的人携带大型渔具，又自己拿着连弩等待大鱼出来射它。自琅邪向北到了荣成山，一直没见到。到了之罟山，见到了大鱼，射杀了一条。于是沿海西行。

到平原津始皇病重。始皇讨厌谈到死，群臣没人敢说死的事。皇上病情日益加重，就写了封加盖玺印的诏书给公子扶苏道：“回来参加丧事，在咸阳下葬。”诏书已封好，放在掌管符玺的中车府令赵高那里，没有交给使者。七月丙寅，始皇在沙丘平台去世。丞相李斯因为皇上在外面去世，恐怕各公子及国内发生变故，就隐瞒消息，不发丧。棺材放在辒辌车中，由始皇生前宠爱的宦官陪乘，每到一处，皇上进餐，及百官奏事依然如故。宦官就在辒辌车中批准他们的报告。只有皇子胡亥、赵高及始皇宠爱的宦官五六个人知道始皇已死。赵高以前曾教胡亥书法及法律条例等事，胡亥自己很



and they said, "The gods of the sea are invisible but they may take the form of giant fish, sea-serpents or dragons. Though you have taken such care to offer prayers and sacrifice, this evil spirit has appeared. It must be driven away so that good spirits will come in its place."

Then the emperor ordered sailors to prepare implements to catch a great fish, and he waited with a repeating crossbow for the monster to appear so that he might shoot it himself. He went north from Langya to Mount Rongcheng but found nothing. Upon reaching Zhifu, however, he saw some great fish and shot and killed one of them. Then he went westward, inland. At Pingyuanjin he fell ill.

Since the emperor could not bear to talk of death, his ministers dared not mention the subject either. When his illness grew worse, he wrote a letter under the imperial seal to Prince Fusu saying, "On my death, come to Xianyang for the funeral." This sealed letter was entrusted to Zhao Gao, keeper of the chariots, who kept it in the place where tallies were issued but did not give it to a messenger.

In the seventh month, the First Emperor died at Pingtai in Shaqiu. Since he died away from the capital, the prime minister Li Si hushed the matter up for fear that the princes and others in the land start trouble, and no preparations were made for the funeral. The coffin was borne in a litter escorted by the emperor's favourite eunuchs, who presented food and official reports as usual and issued the imperial orders from the covered litter. The only ones who knew that the emperor was dead were his son Huhai, Zhao Gao and five or six other trusted eunuchs.

Zhao Gao had taught Huhai writing and the legal codes, and the



【原文】

教胡亥书及狱律令法事，胡亥私幸之。高乃与公子胡亥、丞相斯阴谋破去始皇所封书赐公子扶苏者，而更诈为丞相斯受始皇遗诏沙丘，立子胡亥为太子。更为书赐公子扶苏、蒙恬，数以罪，赐死。语具在《李斯传》中。行，遂从井陉抵九原。会暑，上辚车臭，乃诏从官令车载一石鲍鱼，以乱其臭。

行从直道至咸阳，发丧。太子胡亥袭位，为二世皇帝。九月，葬始皇郾山。始皇初即位，穿治郾山，及并天下，天下徒送诣七十余万人，穿三泉，下铜而致椁，宫观百官奇器珍怪徙臧满之。令匠作机弩矢，有所穿近者辄射之。以水银为百川江河大海，机相灌输，上具天文，下具地理，以人鱼膏为烛，度不灭者久之。二世

【今译】

宠爱他。赵高于是与公子胡亥、丞相李斯密谋拆开始皇所封赐给公子扶苏的诏书，而诈称丞相李斯在沙丘受始皇遗诏，立皇子胡亥为太子。又伪造给公子扶苏、蒙恬的诏书，列举他们的罪名，赐死。详细记载见《李斯传》。继续前进，就从井陉到达九原。赶上暑天，皇上尸体在辚凉车中变臭，就命从官用车拉了百十多斤咸鱼，来遮掩尸臭。

车队从直道抵达咸阳，发表。太子胡亥继位，是二世皇帝。九月，把始皇葬在郾山。始皇刚即位时，穿凿治理郾山，统一天下后，全国送来刑徒七十多万人，打通三重泉，灌下铜水后再放置外棺，仿制的宫观、百官、奇珍异宝运来装满其中。命匠人制作机关弓箭，有人穿入靠近就自动射杀。用水银做成百川、江河、大海，做机关使之互相流通，上有天文图像，下有地理模型，用娃娃鱼油作蜡烛，估计能长久不熄灭。二世说：“先帝后宫妃嫔，没有儿女



prince was attached to him. So now Zhao Gao conspired with Huhai and Li Si to destroy the emperor's sealed letter to Prince Fusu and forge a decree supposed to have been given Li Si at Shaqiu, making Huhai the crown prince. Another letter, sent to Prince Fusu and General Meng Tian, charged them with crimes and ordered them to die. (This is told in detail in the life of Li Si.) So the cortège proceeded from Jingxing to Jiuyuan. It was summer and the litter began to reek. To disguise the stench the escort was told to load a cart with a picul of salted fish.

They took the direct road back to Xianyang, then announced the funeral. The crown prince Huhai succeeded to the throne as the Second Sovereign Emperor. In the ninth month the First Emperor was buried at Mount Li.

As soon as the First Emperor became king of Qin, excavations and building had been started at Mount Li, while after he won the empire more than seven hundred thousand conscripts from all parts of the country worked there. They dug through three subterranean streams and poured molten copper for the outer coffin, and the tomb was filled with models of palaces, pavilions and offices, as well as fine vessels, precious stones and rarities. Artisans were ordered to fix up crossbows so that any thief breaking in would be shot. All the country's streams, the Yellow River and the Yangtse were reproduced in quicksilver and by some mechanical means made to flow into a miniature ocean. The heavenly constellations were shown above and the regions of the earth below. The candles were made of whale oil to ensure their burning for the longest possible time.

The Second Emperor decreed, "It is not right to send away those

【原文】

曰：“先帝后宫非有子者，出焉不宜。”皆令从死，死者甚众。葬既已下，或言工匠为机，臧皆知之，臧重即泄。大事毕，已臧，闭中羡，下外羡门，尽闭工匠臧者，无复出者。树草木以象山。

二世皇帝元年，年二十一。赵高为郎中令，任用事。二世下诏，增始皇寝庙牺牲及山川百祀之礼。令群臣议尊始皇庙。群臣皆顿首言曰：“古者天子七庙，诸侯五，大夫三，虽万世世不祫毁。今始皇为极庙，四海之内皆献贡职，增牺牲，礼咸备，毋以加。先王庙或在西雍，或在咸阳。天子仪当独奉酌祠始皇庙。自襄公已下祫毁。所置凡七庙。群臣以礼进祠，以尊始皇庙为帝者祖庙。皇帝复自称‘朕’。”

【今译】

的，不宜放她们出去。”都命令随葬，死的人很多。下葬以后，有人说工匠们设置机关，里面埋藏的情况也都知道，这样里面陪葬的事就会泄露。大事完毕，宝物藏好，封闭中层墓道，又放下外层墓道的门，把工匠奴隶都关在里面，没有一个出来的。在上面种上草木，好像一座山。

二世皇帝元年(公元前209年)，秦二世胡亥二十一岁。赵高为郎中令，掌权主事。二世下诏，增加始皇寝庙的贡品及山川祭祀的礼节。命群臣商议尊祭始皇庙的事。群臣都叩头说道：“古时天子七庙，诸侯五庙，大夫三庙，即使经历千秋万代也不废除。现在始皇庙是最尊贵的庙，全国各地都进献贡品，增加祭牲，礼仪周备，没人能超过。先王庙有的在西雍，有的在咸阳。天子按礼仪应单独捧酒祭祀始皇庙。自襄公以下的庙都废除。所建祖庙共七座。群臣按礼献祭，尊始皇庙为皇帝祖庙。皇帝仍自称‘朕’。”



of my father's ladies who had no sons." Accordingly all these were ordered to follow the First Emperor to the grave. After the interment someone pointed out that the artisans who had made the mechanical contrivances might disclose all the treasure that was in the tomb; therefore after the burial and sealing up of the treasures, the middle gate was shut and the outer gate closed to imprison all the artisans and labourers, so that not one came out. Trees and grass were planted over the mausoleum to make it seem like a hill.

The Second Emperor was twenty-one when he ascended the throne. Zhao Gao became his chamberlain, in charge of affairs of state. The Second Emperor decreed that more sacrifices should be made at the First Emperor's temple and to the hills and rivers.

His ministers, ordered to find ways to honour the First Emperor's temple, bowed to the ground and replied, "In ancient times the Son of Heaven had seven temples, the feudal princes five and ministers three, a practice unchanged for countless generations. Now the First Emperor's temple is supreme. All regions within the Four Seas have sent their tribute and the number of sacrifices has been increased; the ceremonies are complete and no more can be added. However, since the temples of the former kings are in Xiyong or Xianyang, only the temple of the First Emperor should have the imperial sacrifice. All imperial sacrifices to the former rulers from Duke Xiang downwards may be abolished, leaving only seven temples where ministers may sacrifice as ceremony demands, exalting the First Emperor's temple to be the Primal Temple of Emperors. And our sovereign should refer to himself as 'we'."



【原文】

二世与赵高谋曰：“朕年少，初即位，黔首未集附。先帝巡行郡县，以示强，威服海内。今晏然不巡行，即见弱，毋以臣畜天下。”春，二世东行郡县，李斯从。到碣石，并海，南至会稽，而尽刻始皇所立刻石，石旁著大臣从者名，以章先帝成功盛德焉。

皇帝曰：“金石刻尽始皇帝所为也。今袭号而金石刻辞不称始皇帝，其于久远也如后嗣为之者，不称成功盛德。”丞相臣斯、臣去疾、御史大夫臣德昧死言：“臣请具刻诏书刻石，因明白矣。臣昧死请。”制曰：“可。”

遂至辽东而还。

于是二世乃遵用赵高，申法令。乃阴与赵高谋曰：“大臣不服，官吏尚强，及诸公子必与我争，为之奈何？”高曰：“臣固愿

【今译】

二世与赵高商量道：“我年轻，刚即位，还没得到百姓的一致拥护。先帝巡行郡县，以显示强大，威严强权制服天下。现在我安然不动，不巡行，就是显示弱小，就无法统治天下。”春天，二世向东巡行郡县，李斯跟随。到了碣石，沿海而行，南到会稽，将始皇所立石碑都刻上了字，石旁刻上随从大臣的名字，以表彰先帝的丰功伟绩。

皇帝说：“金石镌刻都是始皇帝所为。如今沿袭了皇帝名号而金石所刻文字没有称呼始皇帝，时代久远后，就像是后代继位的皇帝做的这些事情，不能彰明始皇帝的丰功美德。”丞相臣子李斯、臣冯去疾、御史大夫臣德冒死进言：“我们请求在刻石上全部刻上这诏书，就能说明白了。我们冒死请求。”制书回复道：“可以。”

于是到辽东就回来了。

这时二世就按照赵高的意见，申明法令。又私下与赵高商量道：“大臣不服从，官吏们还很强硬，皇子们也一定会与我争权，



The Second Emperor took counsel with Zhao Gao, saying, "I am young and newly come to the throne and the black-headed people have not yet rallied to me. My father toured the provinces and counties to show his might and pacify the realm. If I remain passive and make no tour of inspection, I shall seem weak, unfit to govern the empire."

So in the spring the Second Emperor, accompanied by Li Si, made a tour of the eastern provinces and counties. He went to Jieshi, then south along the coast to Kuaiji. He had an inscription carved on the sides of the monuments set up by his father, listing all the chief ministers that had accompanied their sovereign, to show the First Emperor's achievements and abundant virtue. The inscription read:

The emperor said, "These inscriptions on bronze and stone were the work of the First Emperor. He had the title of First Sovereign Emperor, but since this was not used in these inscriptions they may come to be attributed to later rulers, belying his achievements and abundant virtue." So his subjects the prime ministers Li Si and Feng Quji and the secretary of state De made bold to suggest, "We beg to have your imperial decree inscribed on stone, to make all dear. This we propose even at the risk of our lives." And the Emperor sanctioned this.

They went on to Liaodong, then returned to the capital.

The Second Emperor, on the advice of Zhao Gao, reaffirmed the laws and ordinances and secretly consulted his chamberlain saying, "The chief ministers question my rule, the officials still have great power, and the princes are bound to contest my authority. What should I do?"

【原文】

言而未敢也。先帝之大臣，皆天下累世名贵人也，积功劳世以相传久矣。今高素小贱，陛下幸称举，令在上位，管中事。大臣鞅鞅，特以貌从臣，其心实不服。今上出，不因此时案郡县守尉有罪者诛之，上以振威天下，下以除去上生平所不可者。今时不师文而决于武力，愿陛下遂从时毋疑，即群臣不及谋。明主收举余民，贱者贵之，贫者富之，远者近之，则上下集而国安矣。”二世曰：“善。”乃行诛大臣及诸公子，以罪过连逮少近官三郎，无得立者，而六公子戮死于杜。公子将闾昆弟三人囚于内宫，议其罪独后。二世使使令将闾曰：“公子不臣，罪当死，吏致法焉。”将闾曰：“阙廷之礼，吾未尝敢不从宾赞也；廊庙之位，吾未尝敢失节

【今译】

这该怎么办？”赵高说：“我本想说却没敢开口。先帝的大臣，都是天下数代有名望的贵人，积累功劳，世代相传。我赵高一向名小位卑，幸得陛下称赞抬举，让我居上位，管理宫中事务。大臣们却闷闷不乐，只是表面上服从我，他们心中其实不服我。现在皇上出巡，何不趁此时纠察郡县守尉中有罪的人杀掉，在上可以扬威于天下，在下可除去皇上一一直不满意的人。现在的时势不尚文治而取决于武力，希望陛下赶紧顺从时势，不要犹豫，赶在群臣来不及谋算之前。英明的君主提拔被遗弃的人，让卑贱的显贵，让贫穷的富有，让疏远的亲近，那么，就上下同心，国家安定了。”二世说：“好。”便开始诛杀大臣和公子们，用各种罪名连续逮捕近侍小官，中郎、外郎、散郎，无一幸存，六个皇子被杀死在杜县。公子将闾兄弟三人被囚禁在内宫，判罪排在最后。二世派使者命令将闾道：“你们不尽臣道，应处死罪，狱吏来执法了。”将闾说：“宫廷的礼节，我从不敢不服从遵守；朝廷的位次，我从没敢违背礼节；



"I have been wanting to raise this but did not dare," said Zhao Gao. "The chief ministers of the last emperor came from noble families famed throughout the land for generations, whose feats have long been handed down. I am humble and obscure, yet Your Majesty graciously raised me up to hold high office and order affairs in the palace. This has offended the chief ministers, who only make a show of obeying me but are resentful at heart. If you seize this chance to make an example of those provincial governors and military tribunes whose crimes you discovered during your tour of inspection, you will awe the land and do away with those against us. This is no time for politeness — might is right. I beg you to take prompt action before these officials have time to lay their plots, so that as a wise sovereign you win over the rest of your subjects, ennobling the humble, enriching the poor and making the distant close. Then high and low will rally round you and the empire will be secure."

The Second Emperor approved. He sentenced the chief ministers and princes to death and had accusations brought against those close to his person, dismissing three captains of the Imperial Guards and killing six princes at Du. Prince Jianglü and his two brothers, imprisoned in the palace, were the last to be condemned. But the Second Emperor sent Jianglü the message, "You are a disloyal subject and deserve to die. The officers will execute the law."

The prince protested, "In court ritual I never dared disobey the master of ceremonies; in my government post I never overstepped

【原文】

也；受命应对，吾未尝敢失辞也。何谓不臣？愿闻罪而死。”使者曰：“臣不得与谋，奉书从事。”将闾乃仰天大呼天者三，曰：“天乎！吾无罪！”昆弟三人皆流涕拔剑自杀。宗室振恐。群臣谏者以为诽谤，大吏持禄取容，黔首振恐。

四月，二世还至咸阳，曰：“先帝为咸阳朝廷小，故营阿房宫。为室堂未就，会上崩，罢其作者，复土骊山。骊山事大毕，今释阿房宫弗就，则是章先帝举事过也。”复作阿房宫。外抚四夷，如始皇计。尽征其材士五万人为屯卫咸阳，令教射狗马禽兽。当食者多，度不足，下调郡县转输菽粟刍藁，皆令自赍粮食，咸阳三百里内不得食其谷。用法益刻深。

【今译】

奉命对答，我不曾敢说错话。怎么能说是不尽臣道呢？希望知道罪名后再死。”使者说：“我不能参与谋议，我是奉诏书行事。”将闾于是仰面三次大声呼喊天道：“天啊！我没有罪！”兄弟三人都痛哭流涕，拔剑自杀。皇室成员震惊恐慌。群臣进谏的就被认为是诽谤，大官们保持禄位，苟且容身，百姓震动恐慌。

四月，二世回到咸阳，说：“先帝因为咸阳朝廷小，所以营建阿房宫。宫室还没修成，就赶上皇上去世，才能让人们停工，去骊山填土。骊山之事已全部完成，现在放着阿房宫不完工，就是在宣扬先帝做事的错误。”于是重新修建阿房宫。对外安抚四夷，按始皇的计策办。征集其中身体强壮的五万人到咸阳驻守护卫，让他们教习射箭及驯养狗马禽兽。耗费的粮食很多，估计粮食不够，就命各郡县运来粮食、饲料，运输人员都自带粮食，咸阳三百里内不能食用这些粮食，执法更加苛刻。



my authority; when accepting orders and making my replies I never said anything wrong. In what way have I been disloyal? Let me know my crime before I die."

The messenger replied, "My duty is to carry out orders, not ask for reasons."

Prince Jianglü raised his eyes to the sky and three times he cried, "Heaven! I have done no wrong!" Then all three brothers, shedding tears, drew their swords and killed themselves.

Thus all members of the imperial house were intimidated while ministers who protested were accused of slander. So high officials drew their stipends but did nothing, and the common people were afraid.

In the fourth month the Second Emperor, back in Xianyang, said, "My father, finding the Xianyang court too small, had Epang Palace built as a residence but died before its completion. Then work stopped while the builders carried earth to Mount Li. Now Mount Li is nearly finished. If we leave Epang Palace uncompleted, it will imply that the last emperor was wrong. The work on it must be resumed and the barbarians at the frontier subdued, according to the plan of the First Emperor."

He summoned fifty thousand picked men to garrison the capital and ordered them to teach archery, hunting and hawking. As there were many mouths to feed in the capital and not enough provisions, grain and fodder were levied from the provinces, transport workers were ordered to supply their own rations, and all grain within three hundred *li* of Xianyang was commandeered. The laws were enforced even more rigorously.

【原文】

七月，戍卒陈胜等反故荆地，为“张楚”。胜自立为楚王，居陈，遣诸将徇地。山东郡县少年苦秦吏，皆杀其守尉令丞反，以应陈涉。相立为侯王，合从西乡，名为伐秦，不可胜数也。谒者使东方来，以反者闻二世。二世怒，下吏。后使者至，上问，对曰：“群盗，郡守尉方逐捕，今尽得，不足忧。”上悦。武臣自立为赵王，魏咎为魏王，田儋为齐王。沛公起沛，项梁举兵会稽郡。

二年冬，陈涉所遣周章等将西至戏，兵数十万。二世大惊，与群臣谋曰：“奈何？”少府章邯曰：“盗已至，众强，今发近县不及矣。郿山徒多，请赦之，授兵以击之。”二世乃大赦天下，使章邯将，击破周章军而走，遂杀章曹阳。二世益遣长史司马欣、董翳佐

【今译】

七月，戍卒陈胜等在原楚地造反，号称“张楚”。陈胜自立为楚王，住在陈，派将领去夺取地盘。山东各郡县的年轻人痛恨秦吏，都杀死当地的守、尉、令、丞，起来造反，响应陈涉。互相立为侯王，联合向西，名为讨伐秦朝，数不胜数。秦谒者出使东方回来，把造反的情况报告二世。二世发怒，把谒者交狱吏治罪。以后使者回来，皇上询问情况，就回答说：“一群盗贼，各郡守尉正在追捕，现已全部捉到，不必担忧。”皇上很高兴。武臣自立为赵王，魏咎立为魏王，田儋立为齐王。沛公在沛县起兵，项梁在会稽郡起兵。

二年(公元前208年)冬，陈涉派遣的将领周章等西进到了戏，兵数十万。二世大惊，同群臣商量道：“怎么办？”少府章邯说：“盗贼已到，人多势众，现在征发附近郡县的兵力已来不及了。郿山刑徒很多，请求赦免他们，发给他们武器去攻打盗贼。”二世于是大赦天下，派章邯带兵，把周章的军队打得落荒而逃，在曹阳杀了周章。二世增派长史司马欣、董翳帮助章邯攻打盗贼，在城父杀



In the seventh month Chen She and other conscripts revolted in the former land of Chu to restore that state. Chen She made himself king of Chu with Chen as his capital, and sent out generals to conquer other districts. The young men in the eastern provinces, suffering under the Qin officials, killed the local governors, tribunes, magistrates and assistant magistrates and rose in revolt, working in league with Chen She to make themselves marquises and princes. They joined forces and marched westward to attack Qin, and their number was past counting.

When an envoy from the eastern territory reported these revolts, the Second Emperor in a rage committed him to trial. So the next messenger to be questioned by the emperor answered, "They were bands of brigands and have all been captured now by forces sent by the local governors and magistrates. There is no cause for alarm." Then the emperor was pleased.

Wu Chen made himself prince of Zhao, Wei Jiu became prince of Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), and Tian Dan prince of Qi. Liu Bang revolted in the district of Pei and Xiang Liang rose in arms in the province of Kuaiji.

In the winter of the second year, Chen She's general Zhou Zhang and others advanced west to Xi with several hundred thousand men. The Second Emperor in great dismay took counsel with his ministers.

The revenue officer Zhang Han said, "The rebel army is approaching, and it is a powerful host. It is too late now to summon troops from neighbouring counties, but there are many conscripts on Mount Li. Why not pardon these slaves and arm them to resist?"

Thereupon the Second Emperor proclaimed a general amnesty and made Zhang Han his commander. Zhang Han routed the army of Zhou Zhang, who fled away and met his death at Caoyang. Then the Second Emperor dispatched the prime ministers' secretaries Sima Xin and Dong Yi to help Zhang Han suppress the rebels. They killed Chen

【原文】

章邯击盗，杀陈胜城父，破项梁定陶，灭魏咎临济。楚地盗名将已死，章邯乃北渡河，击赵王歇等于钜鹿。

赵高说二世曰：“先帝临制天下久，故群臣不敢为非，进邪说。今陛下富于春秋，初即位，奈何与公卿廷决事？事即有误，示群臣短也。天子称朕，固不闻声。”于是二世常居禁中，与高决诸事。其后公卿希得朝见，盗贼益多，而关中卒发东击盗者毋已。右丞相去疾、左丞相斯、将军冯劫进谏曰：“关东群盗并起，秦发兵诛击，所杀亡甚众，然犹不止。盗多，皆以戍漕转作事苦，赋税大也。请且止阿房宫作者，减省四边戍转。”二世曰：“吾闻之韩子曰：‘尧舜采椽不刮，茅茨不翦，饭土墁，啜土形，虽监门之养，不殒于此。禹凿龙门，通大夏，决河亭水，放之海，身自持筑畚，

【今译】

了陈涉，在定陶打败了项梁，在临济消灭了魏咎。楚地盗贼名将已死，章邯于是北渡黄河，在巨鹿攻打赵王歇等人。

赵高劝说二世道：“先帝统治天下时间很长，所以群臣不敢干坏事，进谗言。现在陛下很年轻，刚即位，怎么能同公卿在朝廷上决定大事呢？事情如果有错，就向群臣显示了短处。天子称朕，本应不听别人的话。”于是二世经常住在宫中，与赵高决定各种事情。这以后公卿们很少能朝见，盗贼日益增多，而关中士兵被征发去东方攻打盗贼永无止息。右丞相冯去疾、左丞相李斯、将军冯劫进谏道：“关东群盗并起，秦发兵征讨，杀伤很多，可还是不能禁止。盗贼多，都是因为兵役、运输、做工太辛苦，赋税太多了。请暂时让建阿房宫的人停工，减少四方边境的戍守和运输。”二世说：“我听韩子说过：‘尧、舜用原木作椽子不经刮削，茅屋不加修饰，用瓦罐盛饭，用瓦盆喝水，即使是看门人的供养，也不比这差。禹开凿龙门，疏通大夏，疏通黄河水，引入大海，亲自手持杵





She at Chengfu, routed Xiang Liang at Dingtao and destroyed Wei jiu at Linji. Once the well-known rebel generals of Chu were killed, Zhang Han crossed the Yellow River to attack Xie, prince of Zhao, and others at Julu in the north.

Then Zhao Gao advised the Second Emperor, saying, "The last emperor governed the realm for many years, till his ministers dared not do any wrong or put forward incorrect proposals. Now you are in your prime, newly come to the throne. You had better not take decisions at court in front of the ministers, for then any mistake would reflect badly on you. The sovereign refers to himself as 'we' because his own voice is not heard." So after that the Second Emperor kept to the inner palace, deciding matters with Zhao Gao alone while other ministers seldom had access to him.

Uprisings increased and troops had to be sent again and again from within the Pass to attack the rebels in the east. The junior prime minister Feng Quji, the senior prime minister Li Si and General Feng Jie asked for an audience and told the emperor, "Brigands are rife east of the Pass and, although our government troops have suppressed and killed a great many of them, they are not yet wiped out. The reason for all this brigandage is the bitter burden of garrison duty, building and transport service, and heavy taxation. We propose calling a halt to the work on Epang Palace, reducing transport duties and garrison service."

The Second Emperor replied, "According to Han Fei Zi, Yao and Shun neither polished their oak rafters nor trimmed their thatched hut, and they ate and drank from earthen bowls, so that no gatekeeper could have lived more frugally. When Yu cut a channel through Longmen to Daxia to let the Yellow River flow into the ocean, he carried pestle



【原文】

胫毋毛，臣虏之劳不烈于此矣。’凡所为贵有天下者，得肆意极欲，主重明法，下不敢为非，以制御海内矣。夫虞、夏之主，贵为天子，亲处穷苦之实，以徇百姓，尚何于法？朕尊万乘，毋其实，吾欲造千乘之驾，万乘之属，充吾号名。且先帝起诸侯，兼天下，天下已定，外攘四夷以安边竟，作宫室以章得意，而君观先帝功业有绪。今朕即位二年之间，群盗并起，君不能禁，又欲罢先帝之所为，是上毋以报先帝，次不为朕尽忠力，何以在位？”下去疾、斯、劫吏，案责他罪。去疾、劫曰：“将相不辱。”自杀。斯卒囚，就五刑。

三年，章邯等将其卒围钜鹿，楚上将军项羽将楚卒往救钜鹿。

【今译】

和锹，小腿上的毛都磨光了，即使奴隶的劳苦，也不比这更厉害。’大凡能享有天下的，就要能为所欲为，主上重视修明法制，臣下就不敢干坏事，就可以控制天下了。虞、夏的君主，贵为天子，自己却处于贫苦的境况，为百姓作出牺牲，哪里值得效法？我贵为万乘之君，却名不符实，我要组建千辆马车的卫队，万辆马车的部属，充实我的名号。而且先帝出身于诸侯，兼并了天下，天下已经平定，外击四夷以安定边境，修建宫室来表达得意之情，而你们看到了先帝功业的流传。现在我即位两年的时间，盗贼蜂起，你们不能禁止，又要放弃先帝所做之事，这样上不能报答先帝，下不能为我尽忠效力，凭什么占据官位？”把冯去疾、李斯、冯劫交狱吏治罪，审讯追查其它罪行。冯去疾、冯劫说：“将相不受辱。”自杀而死。李斯终被囚禁，遭受五刑。

三年(公元前 207 年)，章邯等率军包围巨鹿，楚上将军项羽率



and pick himself, and worked till he rubbed all the hair off his legs. No slave could have toiled harder.'

"But what is splendid about possessing an empire is being able to do as you please and satisfy your desires. By stressing and clarifying the laws, a ruler can stop his subjects from doing evil and so control the land within the seas. If rulers like Shun and Yu, exalted as the Son of Heaven, have to lead poor, arduous lives to set an example to the people, what use are laws? In name we are the lord of ten thousand chariots, but not in fact. So I want a retinue of a thousand, no, ten thousand, chariots to live up to my title.

"My father began as the lord of a single state but conquered the realm so that all under heaven was at peace. He drove back the barbarians from every side to pacify the frontiers and built palaces to show his success. You, my lords, saw the orderly sequence of his achievements. Now during the two years of my reign brigands have been rising on every side, yet instead of suppressing them you urge me to give up my father's tasks. You are neither carrying out the First Emperor's wishes nor working loyally for me. You are not fit for your posts!"

He had the three men brought to trial on various different charges. Feng Quji and Feng Jie said, "Generals and ministers will not accept disgrace," and they killed themselves. Li Si went to prison and suffered the Five Tortures.

In the third year Zhang Han and others laid siege to Julu. Xiang Yu, the high marshal of Chu, led troops to raise the siege.

【原文】

冬，赵高为丞相，竟案李斯杀之。夏，章邯等战数却，二世使人让邯，邯恐，使长史欣请事。赵高弗见，又弗信。欣恐，亡去，高使人捕追不及。欣见邯曰：“赵高用事于中，将军有功亦诛，无功亦诛。”项羽急击秦军，虏王离，邯等遂以兵降诸侯。八月己亥，赵高欲为乱，恐群臣不听，乃先设验，持鹿献于二世，曰：“马也。”二世笑曰：“丞相误邪？谓鹿为马。”问左右，左右或默，或言马以阿顺赵高。或言鹿，高因阴中诸言鹿者以法。后群臣皆畏高。

高前数言“关东盗毋能为也”，及项羽虏秦将王离等钜鹿下而前，章邯等军数却，上书请益助，燕、赵、齐、楚、韩、魏皆立为王，自关以东，大氏尽畔秦吏应诸侯，诸侯咸率其众西乡。沛公将

【今译】

楚军去救巨鹿。冬，赵高为丞相，竟判决杀了李斯。夏，章邯等作战多次败退，二世派人责备章邯，章邯害怕，派长史司马欣请求指示。赵高不见他，也不给消息。司马欣害怕，逃跑了。赵高派人追捕没赶上。司马欣见章邯后说：“赵高在朝中掌权，将军有功也是被杀，没功也是被杀。”项羽猛攻秦军，俘虏了王离，章邯等就带兵投降了诸侯。八月己亥，赵高想作乱，害怕群臣不听他的话，就先做试验，拿一头鹿献给二世，说：“这是马。”二世笑道：“丞相错了吧？把鹿说成了马。”问左右大臣，有的沉默，有的说是马来迎合赵高。有的说是鹿，赵高私下中伤那些说是鹿的人犯法而治罪。以后群臣都害怕赵高。

赵高以前多次说过“关东盗贼不能成事”，等项羽在巨鹿俘虏了秦将王离等并继续前进，章邯等军队屡屡败退，才上书请求增援，燕、赵、齐、楚、韩、魏都自立为王，从函谷关以东，大多都背叛秦朝官吏以响应诸侯，诸侯都率领手下向西进攻。沛公率数万



That winter Zhao Gao became prime minister. He condemned Li Si and had him put to death.

Because Zhang Han and the others had suffered many reverses that summer, the Second Emperor dispatched a messenger to reprimand him. Zhang Han in dismay sent his secretary Sima Xin to ask instructions from Zhao Gao. But Zhao Gao would not see him or believe his account. In great alarm Sima Xin fled, and the men Zhao Gao sent in pursuit failed to overtake him.

Then Sima Xin told Zhang Han, "Zhao Gao is now in charge at court. Whether you win or lose, you will be condemned." So when Xiang Yu launched a sudden attack against Qin and captured Wang Li, Zhang Han went over with his men to the rebels.

In the eighth month Zhao Gao, eager to usurp power, made a test to see if the officials would obey him or not. He presented a stag to the emperor, describing it as a horse.

The emperor said with a laugh, "Haven't you made a mistake, prime minister? This is a stag, not a horse." But when he appealed to the officials present, some remained silent, others said it was a horse to please Zhao Gao, and yet others said it was a stag. Then Zhao Gao secretly impeached and punished those who had said it was a stag, after which all the officials were afraid of him.

Zhao Gao had maintained more than once that the rebels east of the Pass could do little damage. But after Xiang Yu captured Wang Li and other generals of Qin before Julu and started advancing, Zhang Han and his fellow commanders suffered several defeats and sent repeated requests for reinforcements. Now Yan, Zhao, Qi, Chu, Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) all set up princes of their own, while in most regions east of the Pass men rose against the Qin officials to join the rebel leaders advancing west. The lord of Pei at

【原文】

数万人已屠武关，使人私于高，高恐二世怒，诛及其身，乃谢病不朝见。二世梦白虎啮其左骖马，杀之，心不乐，怪问占梦。卜曰：“泾水为祟。”二世乃斋于望夷宫，欲祠泾，沈四白马。使使责让高以盗贼事。高惧，乃阴与其婿咸阳令阎乐、其弟赵成谋曰：“上不听谏，今事急，欲归祸于吾宗。吾欲易置上，更立公子婴。子婴仁俭，百姓皆载其言。”使郎中令为内应，诈为有大贼，令乐召吏发卒，追劫乐母置高舍。遣乐将吏卒千余人至望夷宫殿门，缚卫令仆射，曰：“贼入此，何不止？”卫令曰：“周庐设卒甚谨，安得贼敢入宫？”乐遂斩卫令，直将吏入，行射，郎宦者大惊，或走或格，格者辄死，死者数十人。郎中令与乐俱入，射上幄坐帟。二世

【今译】

人已经屠灭了武关，派人与赵高秘密联系，赵高害怕二世发怒，招来杀身之祸，于是称病不朝见。二世梦见白虎咬他的左骖马，他杀死了虎，心中不乐，奇怪地去问占梦人。卦辞说：“泾水作怪。”二世于是在望夷宫中斋戒，想祭祀泾水神，沉下四匹白马。派使者责问赵高盗贼之事。赵高害怕，于是暗中同他的女婿咸阳令阎乐、他弟弟赵成谋划道：“皇上不听劝告，现在事情紧急了，想嫁祸于我家。我想另立皇上，改立公子婴。子婴仁爱节俭，百姓都听他的话。”派郎中令作内应，谎称有大盗，命阎乐调兵遣将，又劫持阎乐的母亲安置到赵高府中。派阎乐率士卒一千余人来到望夷宫殿门，捆绑卫令、仆射，问：“盗贼进了里面，为什么不阻止？”卫令说：“宫墙四周设兵防守很严，盗贼怎么敢进宫？”阎乐于是杀了卫令，直接带兵入宫，边走边射箭，郎官、宦官大惊，有的逃跑，有的格斗，格斗的都被杀死，死了数十人。郎中令同阎乐一起入内，射中二世的帐帟。二世发怒，召唤左右卫士，卫士们都惊恐不敢搏



the head of several tens of thousands captured the Wu Pass, massacred its defenders and sent a messenger in secret to Zhao Gao. Afraid to incur the emperor's wrath and punishment, Zhao Gao stayed away from the palace on the pretext of illness.

The Second Emperor was disturbed and puzzled by a dream that a white tiger had bitten and killed the left horse of his carriage. He consulted a diviner who told him, "An evil influence from the River Jing is at work." So the emperor purified himself in Wangyi Palace and prepared to sacrifice to the river god by drowning four white horses in the stream. He also sent a messenger to reprimand Zhao Gao for not suppressing the rebels. Zhao Gao in his alarm plotted with his son-in-law Yan Le, the magistrate of the capital, and his younger brother Zhao Cheng.

"The emperor never takes good advice," he said. "In this crisis he means to hold us responsible. I would like to set up Prince Ziyang in his place, for Ziyang is a kindly, frugal prince who has made a favourable impression on the people."

They enlisted the help of the chamberlain of the palace, who announced that rebels had broken into the palace and ordered Yan Le to bring officers and troops to seize them. Holding Yan Le's mother in his house as a hostage, Zhao Gao sent him with more than a thousand men to the gate of Wangyi Palace. There they bound the captain of the guards and the archery officer, demanding, "Why didn't you stop the rebels from entering?"

The captain retorted, "What rebels? How could anyone break through our cordon of guards?"

Yan Le beheaded the captain and led his men straight in, discharging arrows. The guards and eunuchs were thrown into confusion. Some fled, others resisted. The few dozen who offered resistance were cut down and killed. Then the chamberlain and Yan Le went inside and shot at the hangings of the throne. The emperor shouted angrily for his followers, but they were far too panic-stricken to fight. One eunuch

【原文】

怒，召左右，左右皆惶扰不斗。旁有宦者一人，侍不敢去，二世入内，谓曰：“公何不蚤告我？乃至於于此！”宦者曰：“臣不敢言，故得全。使臣蚤言，皆已诛，安得至今？”阎乐前即二世数曰：“足下骄恣，诛杀无道，天下共畔足下，足下其自为计。”二世曰：“丞相可得见否？”乐曰：“不可。”二世曰：“吾愿得一郡为王。”弗许。又曰：“愿为万户侯。”弗许。曰：“愿与妻子为黔首，比诸公子。”阎乐曰：“臣受命于丞相，为天下诛足下，足下虽多言，臣不敢报。”麾其兵进。二世自杀。

阎乐归报赵高，赵高乃悉召诸大臣公子，告以诛二世之状。曰：“秦故王国，始皇君天下，故称帝。今六国复自立，秦地益小，乃以空名为帝，不可。宜为王如故，便。”立二世之兄子公子

【今译】

斗。旁边有一宦官，侍奉二世不敢离开，二世进内室，对他说：“你为什么不早告诉我，竟到如此地步！”宦官说：“我不敢说，才得以活命。如果我早说了，那么早已被杀了，哪能活到今天？”阎乐上前当面数落二世道：“足下骄横放纵，滥杀无辜，天下人都背叛了您，请您自己拿主意。”二世问：“能见丞相吗？”阎乐说：“不行。”二世说：“我希望得到一个郡做王。”不答应。又说：“希望做万户侯。”不答应。说：“愿意同妻子儿女做老百姓，与诸公子同等。”阎乐说：“我接受丞相命令，替天下人杀了您，您即使说得再多，我也不敢报告。”指挥兵士上前。二世自杀。

阎乐回去报告赵高，赵高就把大臣和公子们都召集起来，把二世被杀的情况告知他们。说：“秦本是个王国，始皇统治了天下，所以称为帝。现在六国又各自独立，秦国土地日益缩小，仍以空名称帝，不行。应像以前一样称王，才合适。”立二世哥哥的儿子子



alone did not abandon his master, who going into his inner apartment asked him, "Why didn't you speak out earlier, before it came to this?"

"My life was spared because I did not dare to speak," said the eunuch. "Had I spoken before, I would be a dead man now and not have lived to see this day."

Then Yan Le came up to the emperor and denounced him. "Tyrant! Heartless executioner!" he cried. "The whole empire is against you. Choose how you will die."

The emperor asked, "May I see the prime minister?"

Yan Le answered, "No, you may not."

"I will consent to be the prince of a province."

But this was refused.

"A marquis, then, with a fief of ten thousand households."

Another refusal.

"Let me live with my wife and children as a common citizen like the other princes."

Yan Le replied, "I am charged by the prime minister to put you to death on behalf of the whole empire. However much you plead, I am adamant." With that he called in his troops. Then the Second Emperor killed himself.

Yan Le returned to report to Zhao Gao, who thereupon summoned all the high ministers and princes and told them that the emperor had been punished with death.

"Qin was formerly a princely state," he said. "Not till he became ruler of the whole realm did the First Emperor assume the imperial title. Now that the six states have become independent again and our territory has diminished, it would be wrong to retain the empty title of emperor. Let us rather have a king as before." So Ziying, son of the Second Emperor's elder brother, was made king of Qin. The Second

【原文】

婴为秦王。以黔首葬二世杜南宜春苑中。令子婴斋，当庙见，受王玺。斋五日，子婴与其子二人谋曰：“丞相高杀二世望夷宫，恐群臣诛之，乃佯以义立我。我闻赵高乃与楚约，灭秦宗室而王关中。今使我斋见庙，此欲因庙中杀我。我称病不行，丞相必自来，来则杀之。”高使人请子婴数辈，子婴不行，高果自往，曰：“宗庙重事，王奈何不行？”子婴遂刺杀高于斋宫，三族高家以徇咸阳。子婴为秦王四十六日，楚将沛公破秦军入武关，遂至霸上，使人约降子婴。子婴即系颈以组，白马素车，奉天子玺符，降轵道旁。沛公遂入咸阳，封宫室府库，还军霸上。居月余，诸侯兵至，项籍为从长，杀子婴及秦诸公子宗族。遂屠咸阳，烧其宫室，虏其子女，收

【今译】

婴为秦王。用百姓的礼节把二世葬在杜南宜春苑中。命子婴斋戒，到庙中参见祖先，接受秦王印玺。斋戒五天后，子婴同他的两个儿子商量道：“丞相赵高把二世杀死在望夷宫中，害怕群臣杀他，就假装守信义立我为王。我听说赵高竟同楚约定，灭掉秦宗室在关中称王。现在让我斋戒去庙中参见，这是想在庙中杀了我。我称病不去，丞相一定会亲自来，他来后就杀了他。”赵高多次派人来请子婴，子婴不去，赵高果然亲自来了，说：“参见宗庙是重大的事情，大王为什么不去？”子婴就在斋戒的宫中刺杀了赵高，灭赵高家三族在咸阳示众。子婴作秦王四十六天，楚军将领沛公攻破秦军进入武关，又来到霸上，派人劝子婴投降。子婴于是在脖子上系着绳子，白马素车，捧着天子玺印符节，在轵道旁投降。沛公于是进入咸阳，封好宫室府库，回去驻军霸上。过了一个多月，诸侯的军队来到，项籍担任合纵国盟长，杀了子婴及秦诸公子皇族。又屠灭了咸阳，烧毁了宫室，抢掠女子，拿走珍宝财物，诸侯们一起瓜



Emperor was buried like a common citizen in the Yichun Gardens south of Du.

Zhao Gao asked Ziying to observe a fast before going to the ancestral temple to receive the royal jade seal. After fasting for five days Ziying told his two sons, "The prime minister Zhao Gao had the Second Emperor murdered in Wangyi Palace. Fearing the condemnation of other officials he pretended to enthrone me because that was right. I have heard that Zhao Gao has agreed with the forces of Chu to wipe out the House of Qin and set himself up as a prince within the Pass. This ceremony he has arranged at the temple must mean he will kill me there. I shall excuse myself on the score of illness so that he has to come here. Then I shall kill him."

Zhao Gao sent several summons to Ziying, who ignored them all. Then the prime minister went in person to say, "This ceremony is of the utmost importance. Why don't you come?"

Ziying had him assassinated in his palace and all the Zhao clan wiped out as a warning to the citizens of Xianyang.

Ziying had been king of Qin for forty-six days when Liu Bang, the lord of Pei, commanding the forces of Chu, routed the men of Qin, marched through the Wu Pass to Bashang and sent an envoy to demand Ziying's surrender. A rope round his neck, the imperial seal and tally in his hands, Ziying drove out in a plain carriage with white horses to surrender at Zhidao Station. Then the Lord of Pei entered Xianyang, sealed up the palaces and treasuries and once more stationed his troops at Bashang. More than a month later came the forces of the allied princes, headed by Xiang Yu. Then Ziying was killed with other princes and members of the House of Qin. There was a massacre in Xianyang, palaces were burned, boys and girls carried off as slaves, jewels and

【原文】

其珍宝货财，诸侯共分之。灭秦之后，各分其地为三，名曰壅王、塞王、翟王，号曰三秦。项羽为西楚霸王，主命分天下王诸侯，秦竟灭矣。后五年，天下定于汉。

【今译】

分。灭秦之后，将土地分为三份，称为壅王、塞王、翟王，号称三秦。项羽为西楚霸王，负责分封天下，封诸侯为王，秦最终灭亡了。五年后，天下由汉统一。





treasures looted and the spoils divided among the different princes.

After the destruction of Qin, its territory was divided into three regions under the princes of Yong, Sai and Di, and these became known as the three states of Qin. Xiang Yu, the overlord of Western Chu, was responsible for sharing out the land between the princes and barons. Thus Qin was overthrown. Five years later the Han Empire was founded.²

¹ 259 B.C.

² The end of this record, consisting of Jia Yi's essay condemning the Qin Dynasty and a chronological summary of the reigns of earlier kings, is omitted.



项羽本纪

【原文】

项籍者，下相人也，字羽。初起时，年二十四。其季父项梁，梁父即楚将项燕，为秦将王翦所戮者也。项氏世世为楚将，封于项，故姓项氏。

项籍少时，学书不成，去学剑，又不成。项梁怒之。籍曰：“书，足以记名姓而已。剑，一人敌，不足学。学万人敌。”于是项梁乃教籍兵法，籍大喜；略知其意，又不肯竟学。项梁尝有栎阳逮，乃请蕲狱掾曹咎书，抵栎阳狱掾司马欣，以故事得已。项梁杀人，与籍避仇于吴中。吴中贤士大夫皆出项梁下。每吴中有大徭役及丧，项梁常为主办，阴以兵法部勒宾客及子弟，以是知

【今译】

项籍，是下相人，字羽。刚起家时，二十四岁。他的叔父是项梁，项梁的父亲就是楚军将领项燕，是被秦将王翦杀掉的。项氏世世代代为楚将，封在项，所以姓项。

项籍年少时，学习读书认字没有成就，就去学剑，又没学成。项梁很生他的气。项籍说：“文字，只能记姓名罢了。剑能对付一个人，不值得学。我要学习能对抗万人的本事。”于是项梁就教项籍兵法，项籍大喜，略知其意，又不肯学下去了。项梁曾被栎阳官吏追捕，就请蕲县狱掾曹咎写信给栎阳狱掾司马欣，因此事情才了结。项梁杀了人，同项籍到吴中躲避仇人。吴中的贤士大夫才能都在项梁之下。每当吴中有大徭役及丧事，项梁经常主办，暗中用兵法管理约束宾客及年轻人，以此了解他们的才



Xiang Yu

Xiang Ji, whose other name was Yu, was a man of Xiaxiang. He was twenty-four when he first rose in arms. His uncle Xiang Liang was the son of Xiang Yan, a general of Chu who was killed by the Qin general Wang Jian. For many generations the heads of the clan had been enfeoffed in Xiang as generals of Chu; hence Xiang became their family name.

As a lad Xiang Yu studied to be a scribe. Failing in this, he took up swordsmanship. When he failed in this too, Xiang Liang was angry with him, but he said:

"All scribes do is make lists of names, and swordsmen can only fight a single foe: that is not worth learning. I want to learn how to fight ten thousand foes."

Then, to his great joy, Xiang Liang taught him military strategy. But once he had a general grasp of the subject, Xiang Yu again refused to study to the end.

Xiang Liang was arrested at Yueyang, but procured a letter from Cao Jiu, gaoler of Ji, and presented this to Sima Xin, the gaoler of Yueyang, who thereupon let him go. Later Xiang Liang killed a man and fled from vengeance with Xiang Yu to Wu. As all the local figures lacked his ability, Xiang Liang generally took charge of large labour conscriptions or important funerals. And in secret he trained his followers and young men in the arts of war, to test their abilities.

【原文】

其能。秦始皇帝游会稽，渡浙江，梁与籍俱观，籍曰：“彼可取而代也！”梁掩其口，曰：“毋妄言，族矣！”梁以此奇籍。籍长八尺余，力能扛鼎，才气过人，虽吴中子弟皆已惮籍矣。

秦二世元年七月，陈涉等起大泽中。其九月，会稽守通谓梁曰：“江西皆反，此亦天亡秦之时也。吾闻先即制人，后则为人所制。吾欲发兵，使公及桓楚将。”是时桓楚亡在泽中。梁曰：“桓楚亡人，莫知何处，独籍知之耳。”梁乃出，诫籍持剑居外待。梁复入，与守坐，曰：“请召籍，使受命召桓楚。”守曰：“诺。”梁召籍入。须臾，梁眄籍曰：“可行矣！”于是籍遂拔剑斩守头。项梁持守头，佩其印绶。门下大惊，扰乱，籍所击杀数十

【今译】

能。秦始皇游会稽，经过浙江，项梁与项籍一起去观看。项籍说：“那人我们可以取而代之！”项梁捂住他的嘴，说：“别胡说，会灭族的！”项梁因此认为项籍是奇才。项籍身高八尺多，力能扛鼎，才气过人，连吴中子弟也都畏惧项籍。

秦二世元年七月（公元前209年），陈涉等在大泽乡起兵。这年九月，会稽郡守殷通对项梁说：“江西地区都已反叛，这是上天要灭亡秦朝的时候啊。我懂得先下手就能制服别人，后下手就会被别人制服。我想发兵，让您和桓楚为将。”当时桓楚逃亡在沼泽之中。项梁说：“桓楚逃亡，没人知道他在哪里，只有项籍知道。”项梁于是出去，嘱咐项籍持剑在外等候。项梁又进去，同郡守坐在一起，说：“请召见项籍，让他接受命令去召回桓楚。”郡守说：“好。”项梁招呼项籍进来。一会儿，项梁给项籍使眼色说：“可以行动了！”于是项籍就拔剑斩了郡守的头。项梁提着郡守的头，佩戴上他的印绶。郡守手下人大惊，乱成一团，项籍砍杀了一百来



When the First Emperor of Qin crossed the River Zhe on a visit to Kuaiji, Xiang Liang and Xiang Yu looked on.

"Why not take over from him?" exclaimed Xiang Yu.

"Don't talk so wildly!" said Xiang Liang, stopping his nephew's mouth. "Do you want our clan wiped out?" But this sent Xiang Yu up in his estimation.

Xiang Yu was over six feet tall and so strong that he could carry a bronze cauldron. He was more brilliant and ambitious than others, so that all the young men in the district stood in awe of him.

In the seventh month of the first year of the Second Emperor,¹ Chen She and his men rose in Daze. In the ninth month Yin Tong, governor of Kuaiji, summoned Xiang Liang and said:

"All the lower reaches of the Yangtse have revolted. Heaven is about to destroy the House of Qin. Whoever strikes first, they say, becomes a leader, while those who delay are led. I want to raise troops with you and Huan Chu as my generals."

Huan Chu was then an outlaw in the marshes.

"Huan Chu is an outlaw," replied Xiang Liang, "and no one but Xiang Yu knows where he is." He withdrew and told Xiang Yu to wait outside with his sword. Then he went back, sat down again by the governor and said, "Please summon Xiang Yu to take your orders to Huan Chu."

When the governor agreed, Xiang Liang called Xiang Yu in. After a moment he glanced at him and said, "The time has come!" Then Xiang Yu drew his sword and cut off the governor's head. Xiang Liang picked up the head and hung Yin Tong's seal and insignia on his own belt. The governor's men panicked and were thrown into confusion. Xiang Yu killed several scores of them. The whole office cowered in



【原文】

百人。一府中皆慑伏，莫敢起。梁乃召故所知豪吏，谕以所为起大事。遂举吴中兵。使人收下县，得精兵八千人。梁部署吴中豪杰，为校尉、候、司马。有一人不得用，自言于梁。梁曰：“前时某丧，使公主某事，不能办，以此不任用公。”众乃皆伏。于是，梁为会稽守，籍为裨将，徇下县。

广陵人召平于是为陈王徇广陵，未能下。闻陈王败走，秦兵又且至，乃渡江矫陈王命，拜梁为楚王上柱国。曰：“江东已定，急引兵西击秦！”项梁乃以八千人渡江而西。闻陈婴已下东阳，使使欲与连和俱西。陈婴者，故东阳令史，居县中，素信谨，称为长者。东阳少年杀其令，相聚数千人，欲置长，无适用，乃请陈婴。

【今译】

人。满衙门的人都吓得趴在地上，不敢起身。项梁于是召来以前认识的豪强官吏，讲明这样做是要干大事。于是调集吴中军队。派人征集下属各县壮丁，得到精兵八千人。项梁安排吴中豪杰担任校尉、候、司马。有一个人没得到任用，自己去对项梁说。项梁说：“前些时候办某件丧事时，让你主办某事，没有办成，所以不任命你。”众人都心服。于是项梁担任了会稽郡守，项籍为副将，巡行下属各县。

广陵人召平这时在为陈王争夺广陵，没能攻下。听说陈王败逃，秦军又要来到，于是渡过长江假托陈王的命令，任命项梁为楚王上柱国。说：“江东已经平定，赶紧带兵向西攻打秦军！”项梁于是带八千人渡过长江西进。听说陈婴已攻下东阳，派使者想同他联合一起西进。陈婴，原为东阳令史，住在县城，一向忠信谨慎，被称为敦厚之人。东阳少年杀了县令，聚集了数千人，想推举首领，没有合适的人选，于是去请陈婴。陈婴推辞说能力不



terror and no one dared stand against him. Then Xiang Liang summoned the chief citizens and some officers whom he knew, gave them his reasons for raising a revolt, and took command of the army of Wu. He sent officers to conscript men from the various districts and gathered a picked force of eight thousand men, appointing the best local men as his lieutenants, scouts and sergeants. One man complained that he had received no post, but Xiang Liang retorted:

“When I asked you to see to something at so-and-so’s funeral, you let me down. That is why you are being passed over.”

All agreed that this was just. Xiang Liang became the governor of Kuaiji with Xiang Yu as his adjutant, and they took over all the districts in that province.

Zhao Ping, a native of Guangling, attacked that city for Chen She but failed to take it. When he heard of Chen She’s defeat and flight and of the Qin army’s approach, he crossed the Yangtse and, pretending that he was acting on Chen She’s orders, conferred on Xiang Liang the title of chief minister of Chu.

“You have conquered the land to the east,” he said. “Lose no time now but lead your army west against Qin.”

Xiang Liang at the head of his eight thousand men crossed the river and marched west. When he learned that Chen Ying had taken Dongyang, he sent an envoy to propose that they join forces and advance west together. Chen Ying had been secretary to the magistrate of Dongyang and was respected throughout the county for his integrity. After the young men there killed their magistrate, several thousands of men banded together and looked for a leader. Finding no one suitable, they approached Chen Ying. He declined with the excuse that he lacked



【原文】

婴谢不能，遂强立婴为长，县中从者得二万人。少年欲立婴便为王，异军苍头特起。陈婴母谓婴曰：“自我为汝家妇，未尝闻汝先古之有贵者。今暴得大名，不祥。不如有所属，事成犹得封侯，事败易以亡，非世所指名也。”婴乃不敢为王。谓其军吏曰：“项氏世世将家，有名于楚，今欲举大事，将非其人不可。我倚名族，亡秦必矣。”于是众从其言，以兵属项梁。项梁渡淮，黥布、蒲将军亦以兵属焉。凡六七万人，军下邳。

当是时，秦嘉已立景驹为楚王，军彭城东，欲距项梁。项梁谓军吏曰：“陈王先首事，战不利，未闻所在。今秦嘉倍陈王而立景驹，逆无道。”乃进兵击秦嘉。秦嘉军败走，追之至胡陵。嘉还

【今译】

够，于是大家强立陈婴为首领，县中跟从他们的有二万人。年轻人想让陈婴就地称王，用青巾包头，表示自己是新起的军队。陈婴的母亲对陈婴说：“自从我做了你家的媳妇，没听说你的祖先有显贵之人。现在突然获得大名，不是好兆头。不如归属别人，事情成功了还能封侯，事情失败了容易逃亡，因为不是世上数得着的名人。”陈婴于是不敢为王。对他的军官们说：“项氏世代是将门，在楚国有名望，现在想做大事，将帅非由他们担任不可。我们依靠名族，就一定能灭秦。”于是众人听他的话，把军队归属于项梁。项梁渡过淮河，黥布、蒲将军也率军归顺。总共六七万人，驻军下邳。

这时，秦嘉已立景驹为楚王，驻军彭城东面，想阻挡项梁。项梁对军官们说：“陈王先起事，作战不利，不知道现在在哪里。现在秦嘉背叛陈王而立景驹为王，大逆不道。”于是进兵攻打秦嘉。秦嘉军队败逃，追赶败军到胡陵。秦嘉回军交战一天，秦嘉



ability, but they finally prevailed on him to take charge and some twenty thousand men of the county followed him. Then the young men wanted to set him up as their king and form a black-turbaned rebel force of their own.

Chen Ying's mother told him, "Since I married into your family, I have never heard that any of your ancestors ever attained noble rank. It is not safe to win fame overnight: you would do better to serve as a subordinate. Then if all goes well, you will be made a marquis; if things go badly, you can easily escape because you are not known to all."

So Chen Ying did not venture to become king. "The Xiang family has produced generals for several generations," he told his officers. "They are well known in Chu. If we want to revolt, we must have them on our side. With the help of such a distinguished family, Qin can certainly be destroyed."

They took his advice and put their troops under Xiang Liang's command. After Xiang Liang crossed the River Huai, Ying Bu² and General Pu also came over to him with their men. The army, now nearly seventy thousand strong, encamped at Xiapi.

Meanwhile Qin Jia had made Jing Ju king of Chu and stationed his troops east of Pengcheng to block Xiang Liang's way.

"Chen She was the first to rise," said Xiang Liang to his officers. "But since his defeat we do not know what has become of him. Now Qin Jia has turned against him and made Jing Ju king. This is vile treachery!"

He led his men against Qin Jia and put him to flight. Xiang Liang pursued him to Huling, where Qin Jia turned to give battle. At the end

【原文】

战，一日，嘉死，军降。景驹走死梁地。项梁已并秦嘉军，军胡陵，将引军而西。章邯军至栗，项梁使别将朱鸡石、余樊君与战，余樊君死，朱鸡石军败，亡走胡陵。项梁乃引兵入薛，诛鸡石。项梁前使项羽别攻襄城，襄城坚守不下。已拔，皆坑之。还报项梁。项梁闻陈王定死，召诸别将会薛计事。此时，沛公亦起沛，往焉。

居鄢人范增，年七十，素居家，好奇计。往说项梁曰：“陈胜败固当。夫秦灭六国，楚最无罪。自怀王入秦不反，楚人怜之至今，故楚南公曰：‘楚虽三户，亡秦必楚也。’今陈胜首事，不立楚后而自立，其势不长。今君起江东，楚蜂午之将皆争附君者，以

【今译】

战死，军队投降。景驹逃跑，死在梁地。项梁已兼并了秦嘉的军队，驻军胡陵，将要带兵向西。章邯的军队来到栗，项梁派副将朱鸡石、余樊君同他交战，余樊君战死，朱鸡石军队战败，逃到胡陵。项梁于是带兵进入薛地，杀了朱鸡石。项梁以前派项羽另外去攻打襄城，襄城坚守不能攻下。攻下后，项羽活埋了全城人。回来报告项梁。项梁听说陈王确实死了，就把各路将领召集到薛商量事情。这时沛公也在沛起兵，参加了会议。

居鄢人范增，七十岁了，平常住在家里，好出奇计。他去游说项梁道：“陈胜失败本是应该。秦国灭掉六国，楚国最没有过错。自从怀王到秦国后就没有回来，楚人直到今天还怀念他，所以楚南公说：‘楚国即使只剩三户人家，灭掉秦国的一定是楚国。’现在陈胜最早起事，不立楚王后代而自立为王，他的势力不能久长。现在您在江东起兵，楚地蜂拥而起的将领都争相归附您的原因，是因为您家世代是楚国的将领，能够重新拥立楚



of the day Qin Jia was dead and his men had surrendered. Jing Ju fled and perished in the land of Liang.

Xiang Liang took over Qin Jia's army and camped at Huling before marching west.

By now the Qin army led by Zhang Han had reached Li. Xiang Liang sent his generals Zhu Jishi and the lord of Yufan against him; but the lord of Yufan was killed and Zhu Jishi's army, routed, retreated to Huling. Xiang Liang led his men to Xue and killed Zhu Jishi. He had sent Xiang Yu to storm, Xiang Yu put all the defenders to the sword before going back to report to Xiang Liang.

When Xiang Liang heard for certain that Chen She was dead, he summoned his generals to Xue for a council. By this time Liu Bang, who had risen in Pei, had joined him.

Fan Zeng of Juchao, a man of seventy who held no public office, was a good strategist. Now he went to offer advice to Xiang Liang saying, "Chen She deserved to fall. Of the six kingdoms conquered by Qin, Chu was the most blameless. Ever since King Huai went to Qin and failed to return, the people of Chu have never ceased to mourn him. That is why Nangong of Chu said, 'So long as three households are left in Chu, she will be the land to overthrow Qin.' But when Chen She rebelled, he set himself up as king instead of one of the House of Chu; thus his power was short-lived. Once you took up arms in the east, men of power in Chu raced to put themselves under your command, because you come of a line of generals of Chu and have it in your power to restore the royal house."

【原文】

君世世楚将，为能复立楚之后也。”于是项梁然其言，乃求楚怀王孙心民间，为人牧羊，立以为楚怀王，从民所望也。陈婴为楚上柱国，封五县，与怀王都盱台。项梁自号为武信君。

居数月，引兵攻亢父，与齐田荣、司马龙且军救东阿，大破秦军于东阿。田荣即引兵归，逐其王假。假亡走楚。假相田角亡走赵。角弟田间故齐将，居赵不敢归。田荣立田儋子市为齐王。项梁已破东阿下军，遂追秦军。数使使趣齐兵，欲与俱西。田荣曰：“楚杀田假，赵杀田角、田间，乃发兵。”项梁曰：“田假为与国之王，穷来从我，不忍杀之。”赵亦不杀田角、田间以市于齐。齐遂不肯发兵助楚。项梁使沛公及项羽别攻城阳，屠之，西破秦军濮阳

【今译】

王的后代。”当时项梁认为他说得对，就到民间找到楚怀王的孙子名叫心的，他正在替人家放羊，立他为楚怀王，顺从百姓的愿望。陈婴任楚上柱国，赐封五县，跟怀王建都盱台。项梁自称为武信君。

过了几个月，带兵攻打亢父，跟齐国田荣、司马龙且的军队一起营救东阿，在东阿大败秦军。田荣于是带兵回来，驱逐齐王田假。田假逃到楚国。田假的相国田角逃到赵国。田角的弟弟田间原为齐国将军，住在赵国不敢回来。田荣立田儋的儿子田市为齐王。项梁已攻破东阿一带的秦军，又继续追击秦军。多次派使者催促齐军，想和他们一起西进。田荣说：“楚国杀掉田假，赵国杀掉田角、田间，我们才出兵。”项梁说：“田假是盟国之王，危急时来投奔我，不忍心杀他。”赵国也不肯杀田角、田间来同齐国作交易。齐国于是不肯发兵援助楚国。项梁派沛公及项羽另外去攻打城阳，屠灭了城阳，西进到濮阳东面击败了秦军，秦军收



These words convinced Xiang Liang, who had a search made for the late King Huai's grandson Xin, who turned out to be herding sheep among the common people, and set him up as King Huai of Chu to satisfy popular feeling. Chen Ying was appointed his chief minister and given five counties as his fief. King Huai's capital was Xuyi. Xiang Liang himself took the title lord of Wuxin.

Some months later he led his army against Kangfu, then joined forces with Tian Rong of Qi and Marshal Sima Longju to relieve Donga, routing the forces of Qin there. Then Tian Rong led his troops back to Qi and drove away King Jia, who fled to Chu. His chief minister Tian Jiao fled to Zhao. Tian Jiao's younger brother Tian Jian, a former general of Qi, remained in Zhao, not daring to return. Then Tian Rong made Fu, son of Tian Dan, king of Qi. After defeating the forces of Qin at Donga, Xiang Liang set out in pursuit of them and sent several envoys to urge the generals of Qi to advance west with him.

Tian Rong's answer was, "We will send troops only if you kill Tian Jia and the king of Zhao kills Tian Jiao and Tian Jian."

"Tian Jia is the king of a friendly state who turned to us in time of need," objected Xiang Liang. "It would not be right to kill him." Neither would the king of Zhao kill the other two men to please Qi. So Qi sent no troops to aid Chu.

Xiang Liang dispatched Liu Bang and Xiang Yu to attack Chengyang. They slaughtered all the defenders and advanced west to defeat the Qin army east of Puyang. When the Qin forces withdrew into

【原文】

东，秦兵收入濮阳。沛公、项羽乃攻定陶。定陶未下，去，西略地至邕丘，大破秦军，斩李由。还攻外黄，外黄未下。

项梁起东阿，西，北至定陶，再破秦军，项羽等又斩李由，益轻秦，有骄色。宋义乃谏项梁曰：“战胜而将骄卒惰者败。今卒少惰矣，秦兵日益，臣为君畏之。”项梁弗听。乃使宋义使于齐。道遇齐使者高陵君显，曰：“公将见武信君乎？”曰：“然。”曰：“臣论武信君军必败。公徐行即免死，疾行则及祸。”秦果悉起兵益章邯，击楚军，大破之定陶，项梁死。沛公、项羽去外黄攻陈留，陈留坚守不能下。沛公、项羽相与谋曰：“今项梁军破，士卒恐。”乃与吕臣军俱引兵而东。吕臣军彭城东，项羽军彭城西，沛公军砀。

【今译】

缩退入濮阳城中。沛公、项羽于是攻打定陶。定陶没有被攻下，离开了，向西攻占地盘直到邕丘，大败秦军，杀死李由。回军攻打外黄，外黄没能攻下。

项梁从东阿出发，向西，等到达定陶，再次打败秦军，项羽等又杀死了李由，越发轻视秦军，有骄傲之色。宋义就劝项梁说：“打了胜仗，如果将领骄傲士兵怠惰就会失败。现在士兵有些怠惰了，秦军一天天增加，我为您担心。”项梁不听。于是派宋义出使到齐国。路上遇到齐国的使者高陵君显，就问：“您要去见武信君吗？”回答说：“是的。”宋义说：“我断言武信君的军队一定失败。您慢慢走就能免于一死，快去就会遭殃。”秦果然发动所有军队增援章邯，攻打楚军，在定陶把楚军打得大败，项梁战死。沛公、项羽离开外黄去攻打陈留，陈留军坚守，没能攻下。沛公、项羽互相商量道：“现在项梁的军队垮了，士兵们都很害怕。”于是同吕臣的军队一起带兵向东。吕臣驻军彭城东面，项羽驻军彭城西面，沛公驻军砀县。



Puyang, Liu Bang and Xiang Yu attacked Dingtao but failed to take it. They marched west and occupied all the districts up to Yongqiu, where they inflicted another crushing defeat on the forces of Qin and beheaded Li You. They turned back to attack Waihuang, but could not take it.

Meanwhile Xiang Liang had set out from Donga and marched northwest to Dingtao, where once again he defeated the forces of Qin; and now that Xiang Yu and the others had beheaded Li You, he began to underestimate Qin and to grow arrogant.

Song Yi warned him, "A general who is arrogant and soldiers who slack off after a victory are sure to be defeated. Now your troops are taking it easy while the Qin army grows stronger every day. I am worried to think what will become of you."

Xiang Liang paid no attention, but sent Song Yi as his envoy to Qi. On the way Song Yi met Qi's envoy, Lord Xian of Gaoling.

"Are you going to see the lord of Wuxin (Xiang Liang)?" he asked him.

The other replied, "I am."

"I can tell you," said Song Yi, "that the lord of Wuxin is sure to be defeated. If you travel slowly, you may escape with your life. If you hurry, you will run into trouble."

All Qin's men were mobilized to reinforce Zhang Han, who attacked and routed the Chu army at Dingtao and killed Xiang Liang.

Liu Bang and Xiang Yu had left Waihuang to attack Chenliu, but the city was stubbornly defended and could not be taken. So they took counsel together. "Now that Xiang Liang's army has been routed, our men are scared," they said. They decided to go east with Lü Chen's troops. Lü Chen encamped east of Pengcheng, Xiang Yu west of Pengcheng and Liu Bang at Dang.

【原文】

章邯已破项梁军，则以为楚地兵不足忧，乃渡河击赵，大破之。当此时，赵歇为王，陈余为将，张耳为相，皆走入钜鹿城。章邯令王离、涉间围钜鹿，章邯军其南，筑甬道而输之粟。陈余为将，将卒数万人而军钜鹿之北，此所谓河北之军也。

楚兵已破于定陶，怀王恐，从盱台之彭城，并项羽、吕臣军自将之。以吕臣为司徒，以其父吕青为令尹。以沛公为砀郡长，封为武安侯，将砀郡兵。

初，宋义所遇齐使者高陵君显在楚军，见楚王曰：“宋义论武信君之军必败，居数日，军果败。兵未战而先见败征，此可谓知兵矣。”王召宋义与计事，而大说之，因置以为上将军。项羽为鲁公为次将，范增为末将，救赵。诸别将皆属宋义，号为卿子冠军。行

【今译】

章邯打败项梁的军队后，就认为楚地的军队不值得忧虑了，于是渡过黄河攻打赵国，打垮了赵军。当时，赵歇是国王，陈余为将军，张耳为相国，都逃入巨鹿城中。章邯命王离、涉间包围巨鹿，章邯军队驻扎在南面，筑起甬道为他们输送粮食。陈余任将军，率数万士兵驻扎在巨鹿的北面，这就是所谓河北军。

楚军已在定陶被打败，怀王害怕，从盱台来到彭城，合并项羽、吕臣的军队亲自统率。任命吕臣为司徒，任命吕臣的父亲吕青为令尹。任命沛公为砀郡长，封为武安侯，统率砀郡的军队。

当初，宋义遇到的齐使者高陵君显在楚军，见楚王说：“宋义断言武信君的军队一定失败，过了几天，果然失败了。军队还未交战就预先看到了失败的征兆，这可以说是懂得用兵之法了。”楚王召见宋义同他商量事情，非常喜欢他，就安排他担任上将军。项羽称鲁公，是次将，范增为末将，去援救赵国。各路将领



After defeating Xiang Liang, Zhang Han thought he had nothing to fear from the other Chu forces. He crossed the Yellow River to attack Zhao and routed its army completely. Zhao Xie, the king of Zhao, fled with his general Chen Yu and his chief minister Zhang Er to the city of Julu. Zhang Han ordered Wang Li and She Jian to besiege the city, while he stationed his own army to the south and constructed a fortified road to supply them with grain. The Zhao commander Chen Yu camped with several tens of thousands of men north of the city. This force was known as the Army North of the River.

After the defeat of the Chu army at Dingtao, King Huai of Chu took fright and moved from Xuyi to Pengcheng, where he combined the forces of Xiang Yu and Lü Chen under his own command. He appointed Lü Chen his chief commissary and his father Lü Qing prime minister. Liu Bang he made governor of Dang and marquis of Wuan, in command of the troops of Dang.

Lord Xian of Gaoling, Qi's envoy whom Song Yi had once met and who was in the Chu army, informed King Huai, "Song Yi predicted the lord of Wuxin's defeat, and a few days later his army was indeed routed. Here is a man who understands warfare, who foresees defeat before a battle is fought."

King Huai summoned Song Yi for a talk and was so impressed that he appointed him commander-in-chief to rescue Zhao, and made Xiang Yu the duke of Lu and his second in command with Fan Zeng as third in command. All the other generals took orders from Song Yi,



【原文】

至安阳，留四十六日不进。项羽曰：“吾闻秦军围赵王钜鹿，疾引兵渡河，楚击其外，赵应其内，破秦军必矣。”宋义曰：“不然。夫搏牛之虻不可以破虬虱，今秦攻赵，战胜则兵罢，我承其敝；不胜，则我引兵鼓行而西，必举秦矣。故不如先斗秦赵。夫被坚执锐，义不如公；坐而运策，公不如义。”因下令军中曰：“猛如虎，很如羊，贪如狼，强不可使者，皆斩之！”乃遣其子宋襄相齐，身送之至无盐，饮酒高会。天寒大雨，士卒冻饥。项羽曰：“将戮力而攻秦，久留不行。今岁饥民贫，士卒食芋菽，军无见粮，乃饮酒高会，不引兵渡河因赵食，与赵并力攻秦，乃曰‘承其

【今译】

都隶属于宋义，号称卿子冠军。行军至安阳，停留四十六天不前进。项羽说：“我听说秦军在巨鹿包围赵王，我们赶紧带兵渡过黄河，楚军在外面攻打，赵国军队在内响应，就一定能打败秦军。”宋义说：“不是这样。咬牛的牛虻不能用来消灭虱子。现在秦朝攻打赵国，打胜了军队就会很疲劳，我们可以利用他们的疲惫；如打不胜，那么我们就率军大张旗鼓地西进，一定能推翻秦朝。所以不如先让秦、赵两军相斗。披甲执戟，我不如您；坐着运筹决策，您不如我宋义。”于是下令军中道：“猛如虎，倔如羊，贪如狼，倔强不听指挥的，全部斩首！”于是派他的儿子宋襄去辅助齐王，亲自送他到无盐，大摆宴席。当时天寒下大雨，士兵们受冻挨饿。项羽说：“本该合力去攻打秦军，却久留不前进。现在年成饥荒百姓贫困，士兵们吃芋头、豆子，军中没有存粮，他却饮酒聚会，不带兵渡过黄河趁着赵军有粮食吃，同赵国合力攻秦，却说‘要利用他们的疲惫’。凭秦的强大，攻打新建



whose title was Lord Chief Marshal. They marched to Anyang and camped there for forty-six days without advancing.

"I hear that Qin is besieging the king of Zhao at Julu," said Xiang Yu. "If we cross the river quickly and attack from outside while the men of Zhao strike from within, we are bound to defeat the Qin army."

"No," objected Song Yi. "A gadfly which can sting a bull may not be able to kill a flea. Now Qin is attacking Zhao. If her men win they will be exhausted and we can take advantage of their weakness. If they lose we can march west with sounding drums and will certainly defeat them. Better let Qin and Zhao fight it out first. In feats of arms I am no match for you, but in strategy you are no match for me."

Then he issued this order to the troops: "Any man who is fierce as a tiger, stubborn as a sheep, greedy as a wolf, or disobedient to orders, will lose his head."

He appointed his son Song Xiang chief minister to the king of Qi and saw him to Wuyan, where he gave a banquet. The day was raw, a heavy rain was falling, and the men were hungry and cold.

Xiang Yu reflected, "Instead of hitting out hard at Qin, he has made us stay here all this time without moving. The harvest has failed, the people are destitute, and for lack of grain our men are eating taros and beans; yet he holds a great banquet! Instead of leading our troops across the river to get food from Zhao and join forces with Zhao to attack the enemy, he claims he is waiting for Qin to be exhausted. In fact, Qin is so powerful that if she attacks the newly formed state of



【原文】

敝’。夫以秦之强，攻新造之赵，其势必举赵。赵举而秦强，何敝之承！且国兵新破，王坐不安席，扫境内而专属于将军，国家安危，在此一举。今不恤士卒而徇其私，非社稷之臣。”项羽晨朝上将军宋义，即其帐中斩宋义头，出令军中曰：“宋义与齐谋反楚，楚王阴令羽诛之。”当是时，诸将皆慑服，莫敢枝梧。皆曰：“首立楚者，将军家也。今将军诛乱。”乃相与共立羽为假上将军。使人追宋义子，及之齐，杀之。使桓楚报命于怀王。怀王因使项羽为上将军，当阳君、蒲将军皆属项羽。

项羽已杀卿子冠军，威震楚国，名闻诸侯。乃遣当阳君、蒲将军将卒二万，渡河救钜鹿。战少利，陈余复请兵。项羽乃悉引兵渡河，皆沉船，破釜甑，烧庐舍，持三日粮，以示士卒必死，无一还

【今译】

的赵国，势必战胜赵国。赵国被占领，秦朝就更加强大，哪有什么疲惫可利用的！况且我国军队刚打了败仗，楚王坐不安席，把全国的兵力集中起来交给将军，国家安危，在此一举。现在他不体恤士兵却谋求私利，不是国家的栋梁之臣。”项羽早晨进见上将军宋义，就在帐中斩了宋义的头，出来命令军中道：“宋义与齐国密谋反楚，楚王密令我杀了他。”当时，诸将都畏惧服从，没人敢反抗。都说：“最初拥立楚王的是将军家，现在将军又诛灭了逆臣。”于是大家一起拥立项羽为代理上将军。派人去追赶宋义的儿子，追到齐国，把他杀了。派桓楚向怀王报告了情况。怀王于是让项羽任上将军，当阳君、蒲将军都归属项羽。

项羽杀了卿子冠军后，威震楚国，名闻诸侯。于是派当阳君、蒲将军率兵二万人渡河，去援救巨鹿。战事稍有胜利，陈余又请求援兵。项羽于是率领全军过河，沉掉所有船只，砸破锅碗，烧掉营垒，只带着三天的口粮，以此向士兵表示要决一死



Zhao, she is bound to defeat it. Once Zhao falls, Qin will grow even stronger. There will be no exhaustion for us to profit by. Besides, our men have recently been defeated, our king sits uneasy on his throne and has put all the resources of the kingdom at the command of Song Yi. Our whole country's future is at stake. Yet instead of caring for his troops, Song Yi attends to private affairs. He is betraying our country."

So one morning when he went to pay his respects to the marshal he entered Song Yi's tent and cut off his head. Coming out he announced to the army, "Song Yi was plotting with Qi against our state. King Huai sent me secret orders to execute him."

At this all the generals were awed into submission. "Your family first established our state," they said. "Now you have killed a traitor." They made Xiang Yu their acting commander-in-chief and sent men to Qi to capture and kill Song Yi's son. General Huan Chu was sent to report this to King Huai, who appointed Xiang Yu as commander-in-chief with the lord of Dangyang and General Pu under him.

By killing the Lord Chief Marshal Song Yi, Xiang Yu struck terror into the whole of Chu and his fame spread to other states. He sent the lord of Dangyang and General Pu across the river with twenty thousand men to raise the siege of Julu. As they met with little success, Chen Yu asked for reinforcements. Thereupon Xiang Yu led his entire force across the river. They sank all their boats, smashed their cooking vessels, burned their huts, and carried only three day's rations with them to show their determination to fight to the death and never to turn back.



【原文】

心。于是至则围王离，与秦军遇，九战，绝其甬道，大破之，杀苏角，虏王离。涉间不降楚，自烧杀。

当是时，楚兵冠诸侯。诸侯军救钜鹿下者十余壁，莫敢纵兵。及楚击秦，诸将皆从壁上观。楚战士无不一以当十，楚兵呼声动天，诸侯军无不人人惴恐。于是已破秦军，项羽召见诸侯将，入辕门，无不膝行而前，莫敢仰视。项羽由是始为诸侯上将军，诸侯皆属焉。

章邯军棘原，项羽军漳南，相持未战。秦军数却，二世使人让章邯。章邯恐，使长史欣请事。至咸阳，留司马门三日，赵高不见，有不信之心。长史欣恐，还走其军，不敢出故道。赵高果使人追之，不及。欣至军，报曰：“赵高用事于中，下无可为者。今战

【今译】

战，没有一点退还之心。这样到了巨鹿就包围了王离，同秦军交战了很多次，截断他们的甬道，大败秦军，杀了苏角，俘虏了王离。涉间不投降楚军，自焚而死。

这时，楚军雄冠诸侯。来救巨鹿的诸侯军有十几处营寨，都不敢出兵。到楚军攻打秦军时，诸侯军的将领都在壁垒上观看。楚军战士无不以一当十，楚军杀声震天，诸侯军无不人人惊恐。这样打败秦军之后，项羽召见诸侯将领，他们进入辕门时，无不跪着前进，没人敢仰视。项羽从此开始成为诸侯上将军，诸侯都隶属于他。

章邯的军队驻扎在棘原，项羽的军队驻扎在漳南，两军相持，没有交战。秦军几次后撤，二世派人责备章邯。章邯害怕，派长史司马欣去请示。司马欣到了咸阳，在司马门呆了三天，赵高不接见，有不相信他的意思。长史司马欣害怕了，逃回军中，不敢走原路。赵高果然派人追他，没有赶上。司马欣回到军中，报告说：“赵高在朝中当



They besieged Wang Li's troops, fought nine battles with the Qin army, cut its supply route and defeated it utterly. The Qin general Su Jiao was killed, Wang Li captured, and She Jian who refused to surrender perished in the fire.

By now the army of Chu outmatched all others. Ten or more armies from different states had entrenched themselves outside Julu to rescue the city, but none had dared take the field. When Chu attacked Qin, the others watched from their ramparts. Each soldier of Chu was a match for ten of the enemy. Their war-cries rent the sky, striking terror into the hearts of all who heard them. Thus when they defeated Qin and Xiang Yu summoned the other generals to his camp, they entered on their knees and none dared look up. Then Xiang Yu became commander-in-chief of the forces of these different states and their leaders took orders from him.

Zhang Han's army at Jiyuan and Xiang Yu's army south of the River Zhang confronted each other for some time without fighting. Because the Qin army had several times retreated, the Second Emperor sent an envoy to censure Zhang Han. Then the latter dispatched his secretary Sima Xin in alarm to Xianyang to ask for instructions. Three days Sima Xin waited outside the palace gate, but Zhao Gao would not see him as he did not trust him. At that Sima Xin was afraid and returned to the army by a different route. The pursuers Zhao Gao sent after him failed to overtake him.

Back with the army, Sima Xin reported, "With Zhao Gao in con-



【原文】

能胜，高必疾妒吾功；战不能胜，不免于死。愿将军孰计之！”陈余亦遗章邯书曰：“白起为秦将，南征鄢郢，北抗马服，攻城略地，不可胜计，而竟赐死。蒙恬为秦将，北逐戎人，开榆中地数千里，竟斩阳周。何者？功多，秦不能尽封，因以法诛之。今将军为秦将三岁矣，所亡失以十万数，而诸侯并起滋益多。彼赵高素谀日久，今事急，亦恐二世诛之，故欲以法诛将军以塞责，使人更代将军以脱其祸。夫将军居外久，多内却，有功亦诛，无功亦诛。且天之亡秦，无愚智皆知之。令将军内不能直谏，外为亡国将，孤特独立而欲常存，岂不哀哉！将军何不还兵与诸侯为从，约共攻秦，分

【今译】

权，下面的人不能有所作为。现在作战如果胜利了，赵高一定妒嫉我们的功劳；战斗如果不能取胜，就免不了一死。希望将军认真考虑这事！”陈余也写信给章邯说：“白起为秦将，南征鄢郢，北灭马服大军，攻城略地，不可胜数，竟然被赐死。蒙恬为秦将，北逐匈奴，开拓榆中土地数千里，竟被斩于阳周。为什么呢？功劳太多，秦朝无法全部封赏，所以就借口国法诛杀他们。现在将军做秦将三年了，损失人马数以十万计，而诸侯军纷纷起事，越来越多。那赵高一向阿谀，时日已久，现在形势危急，也害怕二世杀他，所以想藉国法杀了将军来搪塞责任，派人接替将军来解脱他的祸殃。将军在外的时间长了，朝廷内多有嫌隙，现在有功也是死，无功也是死。而且上天要灭掉秦朝，这是无论智者愚者都知道的事。现在将军对内不能直谏，对外成了亡国将军，单身孤立却想长期容身，不太可悲了吗！将军何不倒戈同诸侯联合，相约共同攻打秦朝，瓜分秦地为王，南面称孤道寡，这跟自己身



trol there is nothing we can do. If we fight and win, he will envy our success. If we lose, he will have us killed. I hope you will think this over carefully."

Chen Yu sent Zhang Han a letter, saying:

"When Bai Qi was a general of Qin, he conquered Yan and Ying in the south and wiped out the army of the lord of Mafu in the north. He captured cities and territories past counting, yet at last he was ordered to die. Meng Tian, another general of Qin, drove away the Huns in the north and extended the territory of his state by several thousand square *li*; yet in the end his head was cut off at Yangzhou. Why was this? Because their achievements were too great for Qin to reward with fiefs large enough; hence some legal pretext was found for their execution."

"Now you have been a general of Qin for three years and lost hundreds of thousands of men, while rebellions in the different states are becoming more frequent. Zhao Gao has deceived and flattered the emperor so long that now the position is desperate he wants to make you a scapegoat to avoid being executed himself. He will take away your command to save his own skin.

"You have long been absent from the capital and have many enemies at court. You will be executed whether you win battles or not. Besides, Qin is destined to fall — wise and foolish alike can see that. Now you have no voice in the government, and if you remain at the front you will soon have no country of your own. Alone and unfriended you are, alas, doomed! Why not turn your army back and ally with the other states to attack Qin and divide the empire between you? Then you can be a king and reign supreme. This is surely better than dying by



【原文】

王其地，南面称孤，此孰与身伏铁质，妻子为戮乎？”章邯狐疑，阴使候始成使项羽，欲约。约未成，项羽使蒲将军日夜引兵度三户，军漳南，与秦战，再破之。项羽悉引兵击秦军汧水上，大破之。

章邯使人见项羽，欲约。项羽召军吏谋曰：“粮少，欲听其约。”军吏皆曰：“善。”项羽乃与期洹水南殷虚上。已盟，章邯见项羽而流涕，为言赵高。项羽乃立章邯为雍王，置楚军中。使长史欣为上将军，将秦军为前行。

到新安。诸侯吏卒异时故徭使屯戍过秦中，秦中吏卒遇之多无状，及秦军降诸侯，诸侯吏卒乘胜多奴虏使之，轻折辱秦吏卒。秦吏卒多窃言曰：“章将军等诈吾属降诸侯，今能入关破秦，大善；

【今译】

伏斧砧、妻儿被杀相比，哪个好些呢？”章邯犹豫，暗中派军候始成出使项羽军中，想订盟约。和约没订成，项羽派蒲将军日夜兼程带兵渡过三户，驻军漳南，与秦军交战，两次打败秦军。项羽率全军在汧水边攻打秦军，大败秦军。

章邯派人去见项羽，想订盟约。项羽召集军官们商量道：“粮食已少，想答应他们的和约。”军官们都说：“好。”项羽于是同章邯约定在洹水南面的殷虚上见面。订盟约后，章邯见了项羽就流下眼泪，对他讲赵高的事。项羽于是立章邯为雍王，安置在楚军中。让长史司马欣为上将军，率秦军为先锋。

到了新安。诸侯军中的官兵以前服徭役或守边路过秦中时，秦中官兵对他们多有无礼之处，到秦军投降诸侯后，诸侯军中官兵大多乘胜把秦军官兵当奴隶俘虏般使唤，随便折磨侮辱他们。秦军官兵纷纷暗中议论：“章将军等骗我们投降了诸侯，现在如果



the axe and bringing destruction upon your own wife and children.”

Zhang Han began to waver and secretly sent his officer Shi Cheng as an envoy to seek for some agreement with Xiang Yu. Before an agreement was reached, Xiang Yu dispatched General Pu with troops to cross Sanhu ford by night to the south bank of the River Zhang, where Pu attacked and defeated the army of Qin. Then Xiang Yu led his entire force against the Qin troops on the bank of the River Yu and completely routed them. When Zhang Han sent another envoy to seek for an agreement, Xiang Yu summoned his officers to discuss the matter.

“Our food supply is low,” he said. “We had better accept his offer.”

When his officers approved, Xiang Yu appointed a time to meet Zhang Han on the ruins of the old capital of Yin south of the River Huan, and there they reached an agreement. Zhang Han told Xiang Yu with tears what Zhao Gao had done, and Xiang Yu made him king of Yong and kept him in the Chu army. His secretary Sima Xin was appointed marshal of the Qin troops to lead them ahead of the main army to Xin'an.

Before this, the frontier garrisons conscripted from the eastern states had often received rough treatment at the hands of the soldiers of Qin when they passed through their territory. Now that the Qin forces had surrendered, the triumphant soldiers of the other states took their revenge by treating them as slaves and captives, humiliating and abusing them.

The men of Qin whispered among themselves, “Our commander Zhang Han tricked us into surrendering. If we enter the Pass and conquer Qin, well and good. But if we fail, they will send us east as cap-

【原文】

即不能，诸侯虏吾属而东，秦必尽诛吾父母妻子。”诸将微闻其计，以告项羽。项羽乃召黥布、蒲将军计曰：“秦吏卒尚众，其心不服，至关中不听，事必危；不如击杀之，而独与章邯、长史欣、都尉翳入秦。”于是楚军夜击，坑秦卒二十余万人新安城南。

行略定秦地。函谷关有兵守关，不得入。又闻沛公已破咸阳。项羽大怒，使当阳君等击关。项羽遂入，至于戏西。沛公军霸上，未得与项羽相见。沛公左司马曹无伤使人言于项羽曰：“沛公欲王关中，使子婴为相，珍宝尽有之。”项羽大怒，曰：“旦日飨士卒，为击破沛公军！”当是时，项羽兵四十万，在新丰鸿门，沛公兵十万，在霸上。范增说项羽曰：“沛公居山东时，贪于财货，好

【今译】

能入关破秦，就太好了；如果不能，诸侯军俘虏我们去东方，秦朝一定会杀尽我们的父母妻儿。”将领们暗中听到这些议论，报告给项羽。项羽于是召来黥布、蒲将军商量道：“秦军官兵人数还很多，他们心中不服，到关中不听指挥，事情就危险了，不如杀掉他们，只同章邯、长史司马欣、都尉董翳等进入秦地。”于是楚军夜间在新安城南坑杀了秦兵二十多万人。

项羽军行进中夺取、平定秦朝领地。函谷关有兵把守，不得进入。又听说沛公已经攻破咸阳，项羽大怒，派当阳君等人攻关。项羽于是进入函谷关，来到戏水西面。沛公驻军霸上，没能同项羽见面。沛公左司马曹无伤派人对项羽说：“沛公想在关中称王，让子婴为相，珍宝全部占有了。”项羽大怒，说：“明天士兵大会餐，要去打垮沛公的军队！”当时，项羽的军队四十万人，驻在新丰鸿门，沛公的军队十万人，驻在霸上。范增劝说项羽道：



tives and Qin will kill our parents, wives and children."

Xiang Yu's generals heard this talk and reported it, whereupon he summoned the lord of Dangyang and General Pu. "Qin's officers and men are still a large force," he said, "and in their hearts they have not submitted to us. Once inside the Pass, any disobedience would be dangerous. Before we enter Qin we had better kill them all but Zhang Han, Sima Xin his secretary, and Dong Yi his lieutenant."

So the Chu army attacked by night and massacred more than two hundred thousand Qin troops south of Xin'an.

They advanced conquering the land of Qin till they found their way barred by a force defending the Hangu Pass, which they were unable to storm. When word came that Liu Bang, lord of Pei, had already taken Xianyang, Xiang Yu flew into a passion. He made the lord of Dangyang and others storm the Pass and followed them to a place west of the River Xi.

Liu Bang's army was now at Bashang. Before he could meet with Xiang Yu, his left marshal Cao Wushang sent Xiang Yu this message: "The lord of Pei intends to be king inside the Pass, with Ziying³ as his prime minister. He will keep all the jewels and treasures for himself."

In a rage Xiang Yu swore, "Tomorrow I shall feast my men, and then we will attack and smash Liu Bang's army!"

Xiang Yu then had four hundred thousand men encamped at Hongmen near Xinfeng, and Liu Bang had one hundred thousand at Bashang.

Fan Zeng also told Xiang Yu, "When the lord of Pei was living east of the mountains, he was greedy for wealth and fond of beautiful



【原文】

美姬。今入关，财物无所取，妇女无所幸，此其志不在小。吾令人望其气，皆为龙虎，成五采，此天子气也。急击勿失！”

楚左尹项伯者，项羽季父也，素善留侯张良。张良是时从沛公，项伯乃夜驰之沛公军，私见张良，具告以事，欲呼张良与俱去。曰：“毋从俱死也。”张良曰：“臣为韩王送沛公，沛公今事有急，亡去不义，不可不语。”良乃入，具告沛公。沛公大惊，曰：“为之奈何？”张良曰：“谁为大王为此计者？”曰：“鲋生说我曰：‘距关毋内诸侯，秦地可尽王也。’故听之。”良曰：“料大王士卒足以当项王乎？”沛公默然，曰：“固不如也，且为之奈何？”张良曰：“请往谓项伯，言沛公不敢背项王也。”沛公曰：

【今译】

“沛公住在山东时，贪好财货，喜爱美女。现在入了关，财物不拿，妇女不近，这说明他的志向不在小的方面。我让人观看他那里的云气，都是龙虎的形状，五彩缤纷，这是天子的气象。赶紧攻打他不要失掉良机！”

楚左尹项伯，是项羽的叔父，平素与留侯张良要好。张良当时跟随沛公，项伯于是连夜奔往沛公军中，私下会见了张良，把事情都告诉他，想叫张良跟他一起走。说：“别跟着沛公一起死。”张良说：“我替韩王护送沛公，沛公现在事有急难，我逃走不合道义，不能不对他说。”张良就进去，把情况都告知沛公。沛公大惊，说：“怎么办呢？”张良问：“谁给大王出的这个计策？”沛公说：“浅薄无知的小人劝说我：‘把住函谷关，不要让诸侯进来，就可在整个秦地称王了。’所以我听了他的话。”张良说：“大王估计您的兵力足以抵挡项王吗？”沛公沉默了一会儿，说：“当然不如人家，怎么办呢？”张良说：“请让我去对项伯说，



women; but since entering the Pass he has taken neither loot nor women. This shows that he aims high. I sent men to watch the heavenly signs above his camp. They are off all colours and shaped like dragons and tigers — the signs of a Son of Heaven. You must lose no time in attacking him!”

Xiang Yu's uncle Xiang Bo, the vice-chancellor of Chu, was a friend of Zhang Liang, marquis of Liu, then in the service of Liu Bang. Xiang Bo galloped in secret to Liu Bang's camp that night to visit Zhang Liang and tell him what had happened. He urged Zhang Liang to go away with him.

“Otherwise you will perish!” he warned him.

But Zhang Liang replied, “The king of Han⁴ (403B.C.-230B.C.) sent me here with the lord of Pei. It would not be right to desert him in the hour of danger. I must report this to him.”

He went in and related everything to Liu Bang.

“What shall I do?” asked Liu Bang in great alarm.

“Who advised you to take this course?” inquired Zhang Liang.

“A fool of a scholar advised me to hold the Pass and not let the others in, for then I should be able to rule all Qin. I followed his plan.”

“Do you think, my lord, that your troops can stand up to Xiang Yu?”

“Of course not,” answered Liu Bang after a pause. “But what shall I do?”

“Let me tell Xiang Bo that the lord of Pei dares not oppose Xiang Yu.”



【原文】

“君安与项伯有故？”张良曰：“秦时与臣游，项伯杀人，臣活之。今事有急，故幸来告良。”沛公曰：“孰与君少长？”良曰：“长于臣。”沛公曰：“君为我呼入，吾得兄事之。”张良出，要项伯。项伯即入见沛公。沛公奉卮酒为寿，约为婚姻，曰：“吾入关，秋豪不敢有所近，籍吏民，封府库，而待将军。所以遣将守关者，备他盗之出人与非常也。日夜望将军至，岂敢反乎！愿伯具言臣之不敢倍德也。”项伯许诺。谓沛公曰：“旦日不可不蚤自来谢项王！”沛公曰：“诺。”于是项伯复夜去，至军中，具以沛公言报项王。因言曰：“沛公不先破关中，公岂敢入乎？今人有大功而击之，不义也。不如因善遇之。”项王许诺。

【今译】

说沛公不敢背叛项王。”沛公说：“您怎么同项伯有交情呢？”张良说：“秦朝时他和我交往，项伯杀了人，我救了他。现在事情危急，所以幸亏他来告诉我。”沛公说：“他和您比，谁的年纪大？”张良说：“他比我大。”沛公说：“您替我叫他进来，我要用对待兄长的礼节来对待他。”张良出去，邀请项伯。项伯于是进去会见沛公。沛公捧着一杯酒为项伯祝寿，请求结为儿女亲家，说：“我入关后，毫毛大的东西都不敢动，登记百姓，封好府库，等着将军。之所以派将领把守关口，是防备其它盗贼的出入和意外情况。日夜盼望将军来到，哪里敢反叛呢！希望项伯详细地报告给项王，说我不敢忘恩负义。”项伯答应了。对沛公说：“明天不能不早点来向项王谢罪！”沛公说：“好。”于是项伯又连夜回去，回到军中，把沛公的话都报告给项王。又说道：“沛公如果不先攻破关中，您难道敢进来吗？现在人家有大功却要攻打他，不合道义。不如就此好好待他。”项王同意了。



"How do you happen to know Xiang Bo?"

"We became acquainted in the time of Qin, and I saved Xiang Bo's life once when he killed a man. Now that we are in danger, he was good enough to come and warn me."

"Which of you is the elder?"

"He is."

"Please ask him in. I shall treat him as I would an elder brother."

Zhang Liang brought Xiang Bo in to see Liu Bang, who offered him a goblet of wine, drank a toast to him, and pledged to link their families by marriage.

"Since I came through the Pass, I have not touched so much as a hair," he declared. "I have made a register of officials and citizens and sealed up the treasuries until the commander's arrival. I have sent officers to guard the Pass to prevent bandits going through it and to be ready for any emergency. Night and day I have been awaiting the commander. How dare I rebel against him? Please make it clear to him that I could not be so ungrateful."

Xiang Bo agreed to do so, adding, "You must come early tomorrow morning to apologize in person to Lord Xiang Yu."

This Liu Bang promised to do.

Then Xiang Bo went back by night to Xiang Yu's camp and told him all Liu Bang had said.

"If the lord of Pei had not conquered Qin, you would not have been able to enter," he pointed out. "It is wrong to attack a man who has done you so great a service. You had better treat him handsomely."

Xiang Yu agreed.

【原文】

沛公旦日从百余骑来见项王，至鸿门，谢曰：“臣与将军戮力而攻秦，将军战河北，臣战河南，然不自意能先入关破秦，得复见将军于此。今者有小人之言，令将军与臣有隙。”项王曰：“此沛公左司马曹无伤言之；不然，籍何以至此。”项王即日因留沛公与饮。项王、项伯东向坐，亚父南向坐。亚父者，范增也。沛公北向坐，张良西向侍。范增数目项王，举所佩玉玦以示之者三。项王默然不应。范增起，出召项庄，谓曰：“君王为人不忍，若入前为寿，寿毕，请以剑舞，因击沛公于坐杀之。不者，若属皆且为所虏。”庄则入为寿。寿毕，曰：“君王与沛公饮，军中无以为乐，请以剑舞。”项王曰：“诺。”项庄拔剑起舞，项伯亦拔剑起舞，

【今译】

沛公第二天一早就带着一百多人马来见项王，到了鸿门，谢罪说：“我与将军合力攻秦，将军在河北作战，我在河南作战，可没想到我自己能先入关破秦，能够又在这里见到将军。现在有小人的进谗言，使将军与我有了隔阂。”项王说：“这都是沛公左司马曹无伤说的；不然的话，我项籍何至于此。”项王当天就留下沛公同他饮酒。项王、项伯向东坐，亚父向南坐。亚父，就是范增。沛公向北坐，张良向西陪坐。范增多次给项王使眼色，举起佩戴的玉玦多次暗示项王。项王默然不应。范增起身，出去召来项庄，对他说：“君王对人不狠心，你上前敬酒，敬完酒，就请求舞剑，趁机将沛公刺杀在座席上。不然的话，你们这些人都将被他俘虏。”项庄于是进去敬酒。敬完酒，就说：“君王与沛公饮酒，军中没有什么取乐的，请让我舞剑吧。”项王说：“好。”项庄拔剑起舞，项伯也拔剑起舞，经常用身体遮护沛公，项庄无法



The next day Liu Bang, followed by some hundred horsemen, came to Xiang Yu's camp at Hongmen and made his apologies.

"I, your humble servant, joined with you to attack Qin," he said. "You fought north of the Yellow River while I fought south. I had not expected to be the first to enter the Pass and conquer Qin, so that we meet again here. Now some evil-minded man has been sowing doubt in your mind."

"It was your own officer Cao Wushang," replied Xiang Yu. "Otherwise such a thing would never have occurred to me."

Xiang Yu invited Liu Bang to stay for a banquet. He and Xiang Bo sat facing east, the patriarch Fan Zeng faced south; Liu Bang faced north and Zhang Liang, who was in attendance upon him, faced west. Several times Fan Zeng shot Xiang Yu meaningful glances and three times, as a hint, raised his jade *jue*.⁵ But Xiang Yu did not respond. Finally Fan Zeng rose and went out. Summoning Xiang Zhuang, he said:

"Our lord is too kind-hearted. Go in, drink a toast and offer to perform a sword dance. Then strike the lord of Pei down where he sits. If you don't do this, we will all end up his captives."

Xiang Zhuang went in to offer a toast, after which he said, "Our prince is drinking with the lord of Pei, but we have no entertainers in the army. May I perform a sword dance?"

"Very well," said Xiang Yu.

Xiang Zhuang drew his sword and began the dance, and Xiang Bo



【原文】

常以身翼蔽沛公，庄不得击。于是张良至军门，见樊哙。樊哙曰：“今日之事何如？”良曰：“甚急！今者项庄拔剑舞，其意常在沛公也。”哙曰：“此迫矣！臣请入，与之同命！”哙即带剑拥盾入军门。交戟之卫士欲止不内，樊哙侧其盾以撞，卫士仆地，哙遂入。披帷西向立，瞋目视项王，头发上指，目眦尽裂。项王按剑而跽曰：“客何为者？”张良曰：“沛公之参乘樊哙者也。”项王曰：“壮士！赐之卮酒！”则与斗卮酒。哙拜谢，起，立而饮之。项王曰：“赐之彘肩！”则与一生彘肩。樊哙覆其盾于地，加彘肩上，拔剑切而啗之。项王曰：“壮士！能复饮乎？”樊哙曰：“臣死且不避，卮酒安足辞！夫秦王有虎狼之心，杀人如不能举，刑人如恐不胜，天下皆叛之。怀王与诸将约曰，‘先破秦入咸阳者王之’。今沛公先破

【今译】

行刺。这时张良来到军门，见了樊哙。樊哙问：“今天的事怎么样了？”张良说：“非常危急！现在项庄拔剑起舞，他的用意常在沛公身上。”樊哙说：“事情紧迫了！让我进去，和他同死！”樊哙于是带剑持盾进了军门。矛戟交叉的卫士想阻止他不让进去，樊哙侧过盾来一撞，卫士倒在地上，樊哙于是入内。他掀开帷帐向西站立，瞪眼看着项王，头发竖起，眼眶都瞪裂了。项王按剑起身道：“来客是干什么的？”张良说：“这是沛公的参乘樊哙。”项王说：“是个壮士！赐他一杯酒！”于是给他一大杯酒。樊哙拜谢，起身，站着喝了酒。项王说：“赐给他猪腿！”左右的人给他一条生猪腿。樊哙把盾牌扣在地上，把猪腿放在上面，拔剑切着吃。项王说：“壮士！能再喝些酒吗？”樊哙说：“我死都不躲避，一杯酒哪里值得推辞！秦王有虎狼般的心肠，杀人惟恐不完，用刑惟恐不尽，天下人都背叛了他。怀王和诸侯约定，‘先打败秦军进入咸



followed suit, shielding Liu Bang with his body so that Xiang Zhuang could not strike him.

Zhang Liang went out to the gate of the camp to see Fan Kuai, who asked, "How are things in there?"

"Touch and go," replied Zhang Liang. "Xiang Zhuang has drawn his sword to dance. He means to kill the lord of Pei."

"This is serious!" said Fan Kuai. "Let me go in and have it out with him."

Sword and shield in hand he entered the gate. Guards with crossed halberds tried to bar the way, but he charged and knocked them down with his tilted shield. Bursting into the tent, he lifted the curtain and stood facing west, glaring at Xiang Yu. His hair bristled, his eyes nearly started from his head. Xiang Yu raised himself on one knee and reached for his sword.

"Who is this stranger?" he asked.

"This is the lord of Pei's bodyguard, Fan Kuai," answered Zhang Liang.

"Stout fellow!" said Xiang Yu. "Give him a stoup of wine."

Wine was poured and presented to Fan Kuai, who bowed his thanks and straightened up to drink it standing.

"Give him a leg of pork," directed Xiang Yu.

A raw leg of pork was given to Fan Kuai, who set his shield upside down on the ground, placed the pork on it, carved it with his sword and began to eat.

"Stout fellow!" cried Xiang Yu. "Can you drink any more?"

"I am not afraid of death; why should I refuse a drink?" retorted Fan Kuai. "The king of Qin had the heart of a tiger or a wolf. He killed more men than one could count and tortured others cruelly. So the whole world revolted against him. King Huai promised his gener-



【原文】

秦入咸阳，豪毛不敢有所近，封闭宫室，还军霸上，以待大王来。故遣将守关者，备他盗出人与非常也。劳苦而功高如此，未有封侯之赏，而听细说，欲诛有功之人。此亡秦之续耳，窃为大王不取也！”项王未有以应，曰：“坐！”樊哙从良坐。坐须臾，沛公起如厕，因招樊哙出。

沛公已出，项王使都尉陈平召沛公。沛公曰：“今者出，未辞也，为之奈何？”樊哙曰：“大行不顾细谨，大礼不辞小让。如今人方为刀俎，我为鱼肉，何辞为？”于是遂去。乃令张良留谢。良问曰：“大王来何操？”曰：“我持白璧一双，欲献项王；玉斗一双，欲与亚父。会其怒，不敢献。公为我献之。”张良曰：“谨诺。”

【今译】

阳的，在关中为王’。现在沛公先打败秦军进入咸阳，毫毛大的东西都不敢沾边，封闭宫室，回军霸上，等着大王来。之所以要派将领守住关口，是防备其它盗贼的出入及非常情况。劳苦功高如此，没有得到封侯之赏，却听小人的话，想诛杀有功之人。这是已灭亡的秦朝的继续，我私下认为大王不应该这样！”项王无言以对，说：“坐！”樊哙挨着张良坐下。坐了一会儿，沛公起身去厕所，就招呼樊哙出来。

沛公出来后，项王派都尉陈平去叫沛公。沛公说：“刚才出来，没有告辞，怎么办呢？”樊哙说：“干大事不拘小节，行大礼不避小的责备。现在人家是屠刀和砧板，我们是鱼肉，还告辞什么呢？”于是就离开了。又命张良留下谢罪。张良问道：“大王来时带什么来了？”沛公说：“我带了一双白璧，想献给项王；一双玉斗，想给亚父。赶上他们发怒，没敢进献。您替我献给他们。”张良说：“遵命。”这时，项王军队在鸿门下，沛公军队在



als that the first to conquer the land of Qin and enter its capital should be its king. Now the lord of Pei has conquered Qin and taken Xianyang. But he has not touched anything. He sealed up the palaces, withdrew his troops to Bashang to wait for you, and sent men to guard the Pass against bandits and other emergencies. Yet though he has laboured so hard and achieved so much, you do not reward him with noble rank but listen to worthless talk and decide to kill this hero. This is to go on in the way that led to the downfall of Qin. Please do not act like this, Your Majesty."

Xiang Yu could not answer.

"Sit down," he said.

Fan Kuai took a seat next to Zhang Liang. Presently Liu Bang got up and went out to the privy, beckoning Fan Kuai to go with him. Xiang Yu ordered his lieutenant Chen Ping to call him back.

"I've come out without taking leave," said Liu Bang. "What shall I do?"

"Where big issues are at stake you cannot trouble about trifles," said Fan Kuai. "In matters of consequence you cannot observe the minor courtesies. They are the chopper and board, we the fish and meat. Why should we take our leave?"

So Liu Bang started off, telling Zhang Liang to stay behind to make his excuses.

"What gifts did you bring with you, my lord?" asked Zhang Liang.

"A pair of white jade discs for Lord Xiang Yu, and a pair of jade wine cups for the patriarch Fan Zeng. Seeing how angry they were, I dared not present them. Will you please do so for me?"

"Very good, my lord," said Zhang Liang.

【原文】

当是时，项王军在鸿门下，沛公军在霸上，相去四十里。沛公则置车骑，脱身独骑，与樊哙、夏侯婴、靳强、纪信等四人持剑盾步走，从郾山下，道芷阳间行。沛公谓张良曰：“从此道至吾军，不过二十里耳，度我至军中，公乃入。”沛公已去，间至军中，张良入谢。曰：“沛公不胜杯杓，不能辞。谨使臣良奉白璧一双，再拜献大王足下；玉斗一双，再拜奉大将军足下。”项王曰：“沛公安在？”良曰：“闻大王有意督过之，脱身独去，已至军矣。”项王则受璧，置之坐上。亚父受玉斗，置之地，拔剑撞而破之，曰：“唉！竖子不足与谋！夺项王天下者，必沛公也，吾属今为之虏矣！”沛公至军，立诛杀曹无伤。

居数日，项羽引兵西屠咸阳，杀秦降王子婴，烧秦宫室，火三

【今译】

霸上，相距四十里。沛公就撤下车马，脱身独自骑马，与樊哙、夏侯婴、靳强、纪信等四人手持剑、盾徒步快跑，从郾山下来，抄芷阳小路走。沛公对张良说：“从这条路到我们军中，不过才有二十里。估计我回到了军中，你再进去。”沛公走后，从小路回到军中，张良进去致歉。道：“沛公酒量不胜，不能来告辞。谨派使臣张良把一双白璧，敬献给大王足下；一双玉斗，敬献给大将军足下。”项王问：“沛公在哪里？”张良说：“听说大王有意责罚他，他脱身独自离去，已回到军中了。”项王就接受了白璧，放在座位上。亚父接过玉斗，扔在地上，拔剑击碎了，说：“唉！这小子不值得与他共谋大事！同项王争夺天下的，一定是沛公，我们这些人就要被他俘虏了。”沛公回到军中，立即诛杀了曹无伤。

过了几天，项羽带兵西进屠灭咸阳，杀了投降的秦王子婴，



Now Xiang Yu's camp was at Hongmen and Liu Bang's at Bashang some forty *li* away. Leaving his chariot and retinue, Liu Bang rode off alone, followed on foot by Fan Kuai, Xiahou Ying, Jin Qiang and Ji Xin, who carried swords and shields. Skirting Mount Li, they took a short cut to Zhiyang.

"By this route it is only twenty *li* to my camp," Liu Bang had told Zhang Liang. "Wait until you think I have got there before you go back in."

When enough time had passed for him to reach his troops, Zhang Liang went in to apologize for him.

"The lord of Pei had too much to drink and was unable to take his leave," he said. "He asked your humble servant to present this pair of white jade discs to Your Lordship and this pair of jade wine cups to the Patriarch."

"Where is he now?" asked Xiang Yu.

"Knowing that your Lordship meant to censure him, he left alone. He must be in his camp by now."

Xiang Yu accepted the discs and placed them on his mat. But Fan Zeng put the jade cups on the ground, drew his sword and smashed them to pieces.

"Bah!" he cried. "Advice is wasted on a fool. The lord of Pei will wrest your empire from you and take us all captive."

As soon as Liu Bang reached his camp, he had Cao Wushang executed.

A few days later Xiang Yu led his troops west, massacred the citizens of Xianyang, killed Ziyang, the last king of Qin who had

【原文】

月不灭；收其货宝妇女而东。人或说项王曰：“关中阻山河四塞，地肥饶，可都以霸。”项王见秦宫室皆以烧残破，又心怀思欲东归，曰：“富贵不归故乡，如衣绣夜行，谁知之者！”说者曰：“人言楚人沐猴而冠耳，果然。”项王闻之，烹说者。

项王使人致命怀王。怀王曰：“如约。”乃尊怀王为义帝。项王欲自王，先王诸将相。谓曰：“天下初发难时，假立诸侯后以伐秦。然身被坚执锐首事，暴露于野三年，灭秦定天下者，皆将相诸君与籍之力也。义帝虽无功，故当分其地而王之。”诸将皆曰：“善。”乃分天下，立诸将为侯王。

项王、范增疑沛公之有天下，业已讲解，又恶负约，恐诸侯

【今译】

烧了秦朝宫室，大火三个月不灭；夺取秦朝的财宝和妇女，向东离去。有人劝说项王道：“关中以山河为险阻，四面都是要塞，土地肥沃，可以建都称霸。”项王看到秦宫室都已焚烧残破，又怀念家乡想回到东方，说：“富贵了不回家乡，好比穿着锦绣衣服在夜间行走，谁能看得到！”说客说：“人家都说楚人是猴子戴人帽，果然如此。”项王听说了，把那个说客活煮了。

项王派人去请示怀王。怀王说：“按以前约定的办。”于是尊怀王为义帝。项王想自己称王，就先封各将领为王。说道：“天下刚起事时，暂时立诸侯后代为王，以讨伐秦朝。可是亲自披甲持戟，首先起事，在外风餐露宿了三年，灭掉秦朝平定天下的，都是各位将领及我项籍的力量啊。义帝既然没有功劳，我们就应瓜分土地称王。”将领们都说：“好。”于是划分天下，立将领们为侯王。

项王、范增怀疑沛公想要占有天下，但已经和解，又顾忌违



surrendered, and set fire to the Qin palaces. The conflagration raged for three whole months. Having looted the city and seized the women there, he started east.

Someone advised him, "The region inside the Pass is surrounded by mountains and rivers which form natural barriers, and the soil is fertile. You could make this your capital and rule supreme."

But now the Qin palaces were destroyed by fire and Xiang Yu longed to go back to his home in the east.

"What use are wealth and rank if you do not go home?" he retorted. "That is like wearing embroidered clothes at night when nobody can see you."

"They say the men of Chu are apes with hats on," observed a wit later. "It's really true."

When Xiang Yu heard this, he had the man thrown into a boiling cauldron.

Xiang Yu sent a messenger to report to King Huai.

"Let it be as we agreed," replied the king.

Then King Huai received the title of Righteous Emperor. Xiang Yu, who wished to be a king, first made the other generals and ministers kings.

"When the revolt broke out, we set up the descendants of different royal houses as a temporary measure to attack Qin," he said. "We are the ones, however, who took up arms, started the revolt and risked our lives on the battlefield for three years until Qin was overthrown and the empire pacified. The Righteous Emperor has done nothing. Let us divide up his land and make ourselves kings."

The generals agreed to this and they divided the empire, making themselves lords and kings.

Xiang Yu and Fan Zeng suspected that Liu Bang meant to seize the whole realm. But having settled their dispute with him, they hesitated to

【原文】

叛之，乃阴谋曰：“巴、蜀道险，秦之迁人皆居蜀。”乃曰：“巴、蜀亦关中地也。”故立沛公为汉王，王巴、蜀、汉中，都南郑。而三分关中，王秦降将以距塞汉王。

项王乃立章邯为雍王，王咸阳以西，都废丘。长史欣者，故为栎阳狱掾，常有德于项梁；都尉董翳者，本劝章邯降楚。故立司马欣为塞王，王咸阳以东至河，都栎阳；立董翳为翟王，王上郡，都高奴。徙魏王豹为西魏王，王河东，都平阳。瑕丘申阳者，张耳嬖臣也，先下河南，迎楚河上，故立申阳为河南王，都雒阳。韩王成因故都，都阳翟。赵将司马印定河内，数有功，故立印为殷王，王河内，都朝歌。徙赵王歇为代王。赵相张耳素贤，又从入关，故立

【今译】

约，怕诸侯背叛自己，就暗中谋划道：“巴、蜀道路艰险，秦朝流放的人都在蜀地。”于是扬言：“巴、蜀也是关中的土地。”所以立沛公为汉王，统治巴、蜀、汉中，建都南郑。把关中分为三份，封秦朝降将为王来阻挡汉王。

项王又立章邯为雍王，统治咸阳以西，建都废丘。长史司马欣，原为栎阳狱掾，曾对项梁有恩德；都尉董翳，原曾劝说章邯投降楚军。所以立司马欣为塞王，统治咸阳以东到黄河一带，建都栎阳；立董翳为翟王，统治上郡，建都高奴。迁魏王豹为西魏王，称王河东，建都平阳。瑕丘申阳，是张耳的宠臣，先攻下河南，在黄河边迎接楚军，所以立申阳为河南王，建都雒阳。韩王成仍居旧都，建都阳翟。赵将司马印平定河内，屡有战功，所以立司马印为殷王，称王河内，建都朝歌。改封赵王歇为代王。赵相张耳一向贤能，又跟随入关，所以立张耳为常山王，统治赵



break their word for fear the other leaders might not support them. So they plotted together saying, "The lands of Ba and Shu are mountainous and impassable. That is where all the exiles used to be sent by Qin." Then, announcing that Ba and Shu were also inside the Pass, they made Liu Bang king of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) to rule over Ba, Shu and Hanzhong, with his capital at Nanzheng. And Qin was divided into three kingdoms under the Qin generals who had surrendered, as buffer states against Han.

Xiang Yu made Zhang Han king of Yong to rule over the territory west of Xianyang with his capital at Feiqiu. His secreytary Sima Xin, the former gaoler of Yueyang who had helped Xiang Liang, was also made a king. So was the army commander Dong Yi, who had advised Zhang Han to surrender to Xiang Yu.

Sima Xin became king of Sai, ruling over the territory east of Xianyang as far as the Yellow River, with his capital at Yueyang. Dong Yi was made king of Di to rule Shangjun Province with his capital at Gaonu. King Bao of Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) was sent west to be king of West Wei, ruling over Hedong with his capital at Pingyang. Shen Yang of Xiaqiu, Zhang Er's favourite who had conquered the province of Henan and surrendered to the Chu army by the river, was made king of Henan with his capital at Luoyang. King Cheng of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) remained where he was, with Yangzhai as his capital. Sima Ang, a general of Zhao who had conquered Henei and won several victories, was made king of Yin over Henei with his capital at Chaoge. King Xie of Zhao was transferred to be king of Dai. Zhang Er, the able chief minister of Zhao who had accompanied the Chu army through the Pass, was made king of Changshan ruling over Zhao with his capital at Xiangguo.

【原文】

耳为常山王，王赵地，都襄国。当阳君黥布为楚将，常冠军，故立布为九江王，都六。鄱君吴芮率百越佐诸侯，又从入关，故立芮为衡山王，都邾。义帝柱国共敖将兵击南郡，功多，因立敖为临江王，都江陵。徙燕王韩广为辽东王。燕将臧荼从楚救赵，因从入关，故立荼为燕王，都蓟。徙齐王田市为胶东王。齐将田都从共救赵，因从入关，故立都为齐王，都临菑。故秦所灭齐王建孙田安，项羽方渡河救赵，田安下济北数城，引其兵降项羽，故立安为济北王，都博阳。田荣者，数负项梁，又不肯将兵从楚击秦，以故不封。成安君陈余弃将印去，不从入关，然素闻其贤，有功于赵，闻其在南皮，故因环封三县。番君将梅鋗功多，故封十万户侯。项王自立为西楚霸王，王九郡，都彭城。

【今译】

地，建都襄国。当阳君黥布为楚将，常勇冠诸军，所以立黥布为九江王，建都六。鄱君吴芮率领百越兵辅佐诸侯，又跟随入关，所以立吴芮为衡山王，建都邾。义帝柱国共敖率军攻打南郡，战功很多，所以立共敖为临江王，建都江陵。改封燕王韩广为辽东王。燕将臧荼跟随楚军救赵，又跟着入关，所以立臧荼为燕王，建都蓟。改封齐王田市为胶东王。齐将田都跟着一起援救赵国，又跟着入关，所以立田都为齐王，建都临菑。以前秦朝灭掉的齐王建的孙子田安，项羽在渡黄河援救赵国时，田安攻下济北几座城，带兵投降了项羽，所以立田安为济北王，建都博阳。田荣多次背叛项梁，又不肯带兵跟随楚军攻打秦军，所以不封王。成安君陈余丢下将印离开，不跟从入关，可是一向听说他贤能，对赵国有功，听说他在南皮，所以把南皮周围的三个县封给他。番君的部将梅鋗战功多，所以封为十万户侯。项王自立为西楚霸王，领有九郡，建都彭城。



Ying Bu, lord of Dangyang, who had proved the bravest general of the Chu army, was made king of Jiujiang with his capital at Liu. Wu Rui, lord of Po, who had led the Bai Yue tribesmen as reinforcements to the feudal princes and followed Xiang Yu through the Pass, was made king of Hengshan with his capital at Zhu. Gong Ao, the Righteous Emperor's minister who had led troops against Nanjun and won many victories, was made king of Linjiang with his capital at Jiangling.

Han Guang, king of Yan, was transferred to be king of Liaodong. The Yan general Zang Tu, who had joined the Chu forces to rescue Zhao and accompanied Xiang Yu through the Pass, was made king of Yan with his capital at Qi. Tian Fu, king of Qi, was transferred to be king of Jiaodong. The Qi general Tian Du, who had joined the Chu forces to rescue Zhao and accompanied Xiang Yu through the Pass, was made king of Qi with his capital at Linzi.

Then there was Tian An, grandson of the former king of Qi, who was coquered by Qin. When Xiang Yu crossed the river to rescue Zhao, Tian An took several cities north of the River Ji and came over to Xiang Yu with his forces. He was therefore made king of Jibei, with his capital at Boyang.

Tian Rong, who had often disobeyed Xiang Liang's orders and refused to aid Chu against Qin, was given no title. Though Chen Yu, lord of Cheng'an, had abandoned his commander's seal and refused to follow Xiang Yu into the Pass, he was known to be a talented man who had served Zhao well. When it was learned that he was at Nanpi, he was given three adjacent counties. Mei Juan, a general under the lord of Po who had many bold deeds to his credit, received a fief of one hundred thousand households. As for Xiang Yu, he set himself up as Overlord of West Chu, with nine provinces as his kingdom and Pengcheng as his capital.



【原文】

汉之元年四月，诸侯罢戏下，各就国。项王出之国，使人徙义帝，曰：“古之帝者地方千里，必居上游。”乃使使徙义帝长沙郴县。趣义帝行，其群臣稍稍背叛之，乃阴令衡山、临江王击杀之江中。韩王成无军功，项王不使之国，与俱至彭城，废以为侯，已又杀之。臧荼之国，因逐韩广之辽东，广弗听，荼击杀广无终，并王其地。

田荣闻项羽徙齐王市胶东，而立齐将田都为齐王，乃大怒，不肯遣齐王之胶东，因以齐反，迎击田都。田都走楚。齐王市畏项王，乃亡之胶东就国。田荣怒，追击杀之即墨。荣因自立为齐王，而西击杀济北王田安，并王三齐。荣与彭越将军印，令反梁地。陈

【今译】

汉高祖元年四月(公元前206年)，诸侯在项羽的指挥下撤军，回到各自的封国。项王去封国，派人迁徙义帝，说：“古代帝王领地方圆千里，一定要建都在上游。”于是派使者把义帝迁到长沙郴县。催促义帝动身，臣下们渐渐背离了义帝，项王就暗中命令衡山王、临江王在长江上杀死了义帝。韩王成没有军功，项王不让他去封国，带他一起到彭城，废黜为侯，不久后又杀了他。臧荼到了封国，就把韩广赶到辽东，韩广不听，臧荼在无终杀死了韩广，兼并了他的封地。

田荣听说项羽改封齐王市到胶东，而立齐将田都为齐王，就大怒，不肯派齐王到胶东，趁势占据齐地反楚，迎击田都。田都逃到楚国。齐王市害怕项王，就逃往胶东封国去。田荣发怒，追到即墨杀了他。田荣于是自立为齐王，又向西杀死了济北王田安，兼并了三齐的土地。田荣授给彭越将军印，让他在梁造反。



In the fourth month of the first year of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.),⁶ the various kings withdrew their troops and returned to their own countries. When Xiang Yu reached his kingdom, he gave orders for the removal of the Righteous Emperor, saying, "In ancient times an emperor who had one thousand square *li* of territory always lived on the upper reaches of a river." His envoy told the emperor to move to the district of Chen in Changsha, and kept urging him to go till one by one the emperor's ministers left him. Then Xiang Yu secretly ordered the kings of Hengshan and Linjiang to attack and kill the emperor on the river.

As King Cheng of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) had won no victories, Xiang Yu prevented his return to his kingdom by taking him to Pengcheng. There, having degraded him to rank of a marquis, he killed him. When Zang Tu went to his state of Yan, he tried to drive away the former king, Han Guang, to Liaodong. As Han Guang refused to go, Zang Tu attacked and killed him at Wuzhong and annexed his territory.

When Tian Rong heard that Xiang Yu had removed the king of Qi to Jiaodong, setting up the Qi general Tian Du in his stead, he was very angry and refused to let Tian Du take up his new position in Qi but rose in arms and attacked him. Tian Du fled to the land of Chu. Since King Wang Shi was afraid of Xiang Yu, he fled to Jiaodong, his new realm. Tian Rong pursed him in anger and killed him at Jimo. Then Tian Rong made himself king of Qi and marched west to attack and kill Tian An, king of Jibei. He now ruled over Qi, Jiaodong and Jibei. Tian Rong gave Peng Yue a commander's seal and ordered him to



【原文】

余阴使张同、夏说说齐王田荣曰：“项羽为天下宰，不平。今尽王故王于丑地，而王其群臣诸将善地，逐其故主，赵王乃北居代，余以为不可。闻大王起兵，且不听不义，愿大王资余兵，请以击常山，以复赵王，请以国为捍蔽。”齐王许之，因遣兵之赵。陈余悉发三县兵，与齐并力击常山，大破之。张耳走归汉。陈余迎故赵王歇于代，反之赵。赵王因立陈余为代王。

是时，汉还定三秦。项羽闻汉王皆已并关中，且东；齐、赵叛之，大怒。乃以故吴令郑昌为韩王，以距汉；令萧公角等击彭越。彭越败萧公角等。汉使张良徇韩，乃遗项王书曰：“汉王失职，欲得关中，如约即止，不敢东。”又以齐、梁反书遗项王曰：“齐欲

【今译】

陈余暗中派张同、夏说劝说齐王田荣道：“项羽主宰天下，不公平。现在把原来的诸侯王都封在坏地方，而把他的群臣诸将都封到好地方，把原来的国王赶走，赵王竟北居代地，我认为不行。听说大王起兵，而且不听不合道义的命令，希望大王资助我陈余一些兵力，让我去攻打常山，恢复赵王原有的领地，让我国做您的屏障。”齐王答应了，就派兵去赵国。陈余发动三县所有的兵力，同齐军合力攻打常山，大败敌人。张耳逃走归附汉王。陈余从代地迎回原赵王歇，回到赵国。赵王于是立陈余为代王。

这时，汉王回军平定三秦。项羽听说汉王已经兼并了关中，将要东进，齐国、赵国都背叛了他，大怒。于是让原吴县令郑昌为韩王，来抵挡汉王；命萧公角等攻打彭越。彭越打败了萧公角等人。汉王派张良巡视韩地，又给项王写信道：“汉王失掉了应有的封职，想得到关中，按照盟约停止了军事行动，不敢东进。”又把齐王、梁王反叛文书交给项王道：“齐国想与赵国一起灭掉楚



revolt in the land of Wei. Chen Yu also sent Zhang Tong and Xia Yue in secret to advise him.

"Xiang Yu has not divided the country fairly," they said. "He has made all the former kings rulers of poor lands, but made his generals and ministers kings of rich districts. He drove the former king of Zhao north to the land of Dai. We do not think this is right. Now we hear Your Highness has taken up arms, unable to endure this injustice. We hope you will lend us troops to attack Changshan and restore the king of Zhao. We will gladly serve as your bulwark."

Tian Rong agreed and sent troops to the land of Zhao. Chen Yu mobilized the men of his three counties and together they attacked Changshan and routed Zhang Er, who fled to Han (206B.C.-8A.D.). Then Chen Yu welcomed back the former king of Zhao from Dai, and the king made Chen Yu king of Dai.

At this time, the Han army turned back and conquered the three kingdoms of Yong, Sai and Di. When Xiang Yu heard that the king of Han had gained control of all the land within the Pass and was about to march east, and that Qi and Zhao had rebelled, he was very angry. He made Zheng Chang, former governor of Wu, king of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) to repel the king of Han's advance, and ordered Jiao the lord of Xiao and others to attack Peng Yue. But Peng Yue defeated them.

The king of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) dispatched Zhang Liang to conquer Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), and he wrote to Xiang Yu saying, "The king of Han has not received the territory promised him within the Pass. As soon as the agreement is carried out, he will halt and not advance any further east." He also sent Xiang Yu letters showing that Tian Rong and Peng Yue meant to revolt, that Qi would ally with Zhao to overthrow Chu.



【原文】

与赵并灭楚。”楚以此故，无西意，而北击齐。征兵九江王布。布称疾不往，使将将数千人行。项王由此怨布也。汉之二年冬，项羽遂北至城阳，田荣亦将兵会战。田荣不胜，走至平原，平原民杀之。遂北烧夷齐城郭室屋，皆坑田荣降卒，系虏其老弱妇女。徇齐至北海，多所残灭。齐人相聚而叛之。于是田荣弟田横收齐亡卒得数万人，反城阳。项王因留，连战未能下。

春，汉王部五诸侯兵，凡五十六万人，东伐楚。项王闻之，即令诸将击齐，而自以精兵三万人南从鲁出胡陵。四月，汉皆已入彭城，收其货宝、美人，日置酒高会。项王乃西从萧，晨击汉军而东，至彭城，日中，大破汉军。汉军皆走，相随入谷、泗

【今译】

国。”楚军因此无意西进，而向北攻打齐国。向九江王黥布征兵。黥布称病不去，派部将率几千人去了。项王从此怨恨黥布。汉高祖二年冬(公元前205年)，项羽就北进到了城阳，田荣也带兵会战。田荣作战不利，逃到平原，平原百姓杀了他。项羽于是北进焚毁夷平了齐的城郭、房屋，把田荣投降的士兵全部活埋，掳掠了齐国的老弱、妇女。扫荡齐国一直到北海，摧毁、灭掉的地方很多。齐人聚集起来反叛项羽。这时田荣的弟弟田横收集齐国散兵，得到数万人，在城阳反楚。项王于是停留下来，连续作战，没能攻下。

春天，汉王统率五个诸侯国的军队，总共五十六万人，东进攻打楚国。项王听说了，就命将领们攻打齐国，而亲自率精兵三万人南进，从鲁县出胡陵。四月，汉军都已进入彭城，掳掠那里的财宝、美人，每天摆酒席聚会。项王于是从西边的萧县出发，早晨攻打汉军，向东打到彭城，中午时分，大败汉军。汉军都败



Then instead of advancing west, Xiang Yu proceeded north to attack Qi. He ordered Ying Bu, the king of Jiujiang, to bring up reinforcements; but Ying Bu did not join him on the pretext of illness, merely sending a general with several thousand men. Xiang Yu hated him for this.

In the winter of the second year of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.), Xiang Yu went north to Chengyang, where Tian Rong joined battle with him. Tian Rong was defeated and fled to Pingyuan, to be killed by the people there. Xiang Yu advanced further north, and burned or razed to the ground all the suburbs of Qi, massacred Tian Rong's men who had surrendered, and took captive the old and infirm as well as the women. He conquered the land up to Beihai, spreading havoc and destruction. Then the men of Qi gathered together and rebelled. Tian Rong's younger brother, Tian Heng, rallied what was left of the army, numbering tens of thousands of men, and raised a revolt at Chengyang. Xiang Yu was forced to stop and launch several assaults against the city, but he failed to take it.

The following spring, the king of Han advanced east at the head of the allied troops of five states, five hundred and sixty thousand strong, to attack Chu. When Xiang Yu received word of this, he sent his generals to subdue Qi in the north, while he himself led thirty thousand picked troops south through Lu to Huling.

In the fourth month, the Han soldiers entered Pengcheng, sacked the city, seized the women, and gave all their time to carousing. Xiang Yu struck at dawn from Xiao in the west and fell upon the Han army at Pengcheng in the east. By noon the Han forces were completely routed. They fled in disorder to the Gu and Si Rivers, where more than

【原文】

水，杀汉卒十余万人。汉卒皆南走山，楚又追击至灵壁东睢水上。汉军却，为楚所挤，多杀，汉卒十余万人皆入睢水，睢水为之不流。围汉王三匝。于是大风从西北而起，折木发屋，扬沙石，窃冥昼晦，逢迎楚军。楚军大乱，坏散，而汉王乃得与数十骑遁去。欲过沛，收家室而西；楚亦使人追之沛，取汉王家；家皆亡，不与汉王相见。汉王道逢得孝惠、鲁元，乃载行。楚骑追汉王，汉王急，推堕孝惠、鲁元车下，滕公常下收载之。如是者三。曰：“虽急不可以驱，奈何弃之？”于是遂得脱。求太公、吕后不相遇。审食其从太公、吕后间行，求汉王，反遇楚军。楚军遂与归，报项王，项王常置军中。

【今译】

逃，接连进入谷水、泗水，杀汉军十余万人。汉军都向南跑入山中，楚军又追击到灵壁东睢水上。汉军退却，被楚军逼迫，死伤惨重，汉军十余万人都掉入睢水，睢水因此堵塞断流。楚军将汉王重重包围。这时大风从西北刮起，折树拔屋，飞沙走石，天昏地暗，迎面刮向楚军。楚军大乱，溃不成军，汉王才得以带着几十名骑兵逃走。想经过沛县，带着家眷西逃；楚军也派人追到沛，捉拿汉王家眷；家人都逃走了，没能同汉王见面。汉王路遇孝惠帝、鲁元公主，就用车载着他们跑。楚骑兵追赶汉王，汉王着急，把孝惠帝、鲁元公主推到车下，滕公总是下车再把他们放上车。这样反复了多次。滕公说：“即使再危急马也不能再快了，为什么要抛弃他们？”这样终于逃脱了。又寻找太公、吕后没有找到。审食其跟从太公、吕后从小路走，寻找汉王，却遇到了楚军。楚军于是带他们一起回去，报告给项王，项王把他们安置在军营中。



one hundred thousand of them were drowned. The rest retreated south to the hills, but the army of Chu pursued them to the banks of the River Sui, east of Lingbi. The Han troops fell back, hard pressed by the men of Chu. Some hundred thousand soldiers of Han were cut down and their bodies, thrown into the Sui, blocked the flow of the river. The pursuers threw three cordons round the king of Han. But just then a great wind sprang up from the northwest. It blew down trees and houses and raised swirling clouds of sand so that all grew dark and day turned into night. This storm beat against the army of Chu and threw it into confusion. Their ranks broke, enabling the king of Han to escape with several dozen horsemen.

The king of Han set out for Pei, meaning to take his family west with him. But as Xiang Yu also sent pursuers to Pei, the king's family fled and missed him. On the road he met his son, later Emperor Hui, and his daughter, later Queen Yuan of Lu, and made them ride in his carriage. When the Chu cavalry came hot on their heels, the king in desperation pushed his children out; but Xiahou Ying, lord of Teng, got down and helped them in again. This happened three times. "No matter how hard pressed we are, we cannot drive any faster," protested Xiahou Ying. "How can you abandon them?"

When they had made good their escape, the king of Han looked in vain for his father and his wife, later Empress Lü. They, escorted by Shen Yiji, were searching for him when they ran into some Chu troops instead. The men of Chu reported their capture to Xiang Yu, who kept them in his army.



【原文】

是时吕后兄周吕侯为汉将兵居下邑，汉王间往从之，稍稍收其士卒。至荥阳，诸败军皆会，萧何亦发关中老弱未傅，悉诣荥阳，复大振。楚起于彭城，常乘胜逐北，与汉战荥阳南京、索间，汉败楚，楚以故不能过荥阳而西。

项王之救彭城，追汉王至荥阳，田横亦得收齐，立田荣子广为齐王。汉王之败彭城，诸侯皆复与楚而背汉。汉军荥阳，筑甬道属之河，以取敖仓粟。汉之三年，项王数侵夺汉甬道，汉王食乏，恐，请和，割荥阳以西为汉。

项王欲听之。历阳侯范增曰：“汉易与耳，今释弗取，后必悔之。”项王乃与范增急围荥阳。汉王患之，乃用陈平计，间项王。

【今译】

这时吕后的哥哥周吕侯为汉王带兵驻在下邑，汉王从小路去找他，慢慢收集士兵。来到荥阳，各路败军都会集起来，萧何也征发关中没有进行兵役登记的老弱来到荥阳，汉军又声势大振。楚军从彭城之战开始，常常乘胜追逐败军，同汉军在荥阳南的京、索之间交战，汉军击败了楚军，楚军因此不能越过荥阳西进。

项王援救彭城，追赶汉王到荥阳，田横也乘机收复齐地，立田荣的儿子田广为齐王。汉王在彭城打了败仗，诸侯们又都跟从楚而背叛了汉。汉军驻扎在荥阳，筑甬道与黄河相连，用来运输敖仓的粮食。汉高祖三年（公元前204年），项王多次侵夺汉甬道，汉王粮食缺乏，害怕，请求讲和，划分荥阳以西归汉。

项王想听从讲和的意见。历阳侯范增说：“汉军容易对付了，现在放下不攻，以后一定会后悔。”项王于是同范增紧急包围荥阳。汉王忧虑，就用陈平的计策去离间项王。项王的使者来了，



At this time Empress Lü's brother, Lü Ze, was in command of the Han troops at Xiayi. There the king of Han went, rallying stragglers on the way. By the time he reached Xingyang all his defeated soldiers had reassembled. Xiao He also mobilized all the old and weak within the Pass who had not been conscripted, and sent them to Xingyang. Thus their army became a force to reckon with again.

The Chu troops, advancing from Pengcheng, followed up their victory and fought the Han army south of Xingyang between Jing and Suoting. But the men of Han defeated them there, checking their advance further west.

While Xiang Yu was relieving Pengcheng and pursuing the king of Han to Xingyang, Tian Heng was able to reconquer Qi and set up Tian Rong's son, Tian Guang, as king there. After Han's defeat at Pengcheng, all the other kings went over to Xiang Yu. The king of Han camped at Xingyang and constructed a walled road to the Yellow River to convey grain from Aocang.

In the third year of Han, Xiang Yu repeatedly cut this supply route so that the Han army ran short of food. The king of Han in alarm sued for peace, claiming only the territory west of Xingyang. Xiang Yu would have agreed, but Fan Zeng marquis of Liyang said, "The Han army is easy to crush. If you let them go, you will be sorry later." So Xiang Yu and Fan Zeng hammered at Xingyang.

In this desperate situation the king of Han adopted a plan devised by Chen Ping to sow dissension between Xiang Yu and Fan Zeng.

【原文】

项王使者来，为太牢具，举欲进之。见使者，详惊愕曰：“吾以为亚父使者，乃反项王使者！”更持去，以恶食食项王使者。使者归报项王，项王乃疑范增与汉有私，稍夺之权。范增大怒，曰：

“天下事大定矣，君王自为之。愿赐骸骨归卒伍。”项王许之。行未至彭城，疽发背而死。

汉将纪信说汉王曰：“事已急矣，请为王诳楚为王，王可以间出。”于是汉王夜出女子荥阳东门被甲二千人，楚兵四面击之。纪信乘黄屋车，傅左纛，曰：“城中食尽，汉王降。”楚军皆呼万岁。汉王亦与数十骑从城西门出，走成皋。项王见纪信，问：“汉王安在？”信曰：“汉王已出矣！”项王烧杀纪信。

【今译】

汉王让人准备猪、牛、羊齐全的筵席，端上准备进献。见到使者，假装惊愕地说：“我以为是亚父的使者，怎么却是项王的使者！”就撤去食物，用粗劣的饭食给项王使者吃。使者回去报告项王，项王就怀疑范增与汉王有私情，渐渐剥夺了他的权力。范增大怒，说：“天下事大体已定，君王自己去干吧。请让我带这把老骨头回家乡去吧。”项王答应了他。还未到彭城，背上生毒疮发作而死。

汉将纪信劝说汉王道：“事情已经急迫了，请让我假扮成你去欺骗楚军，您可以乘机逃走。”于是汉王连夜从荥阳城东门放出披甲女子二千人，楚军四面围攻。纪信乘坐黄屋车，车左面挂着牦牛尾做的饰物，说：“城中没有粮食了，汉王投降。”楚军都喊万岁。汉王却跟着几十个骑兵从城西门出去，跑到成皋。项王看到纪信，问：“汉王在哪里？”纪信说：“汉王已经出城了！”项王烧死了纪信。



When an envoy from Xiang Yu arrived, the king made ready a feast; but as it was being served he pretended to show great surprise on seeing who the envoy was.

"I thought you were Fan Zeng's envoy," he explained. "I see you come from Xiang Yu."

He had the feast removed and more common fare brought in.

When the envoy went back and reported this, Xiang Yu suspected Fan Zeng of being in league with Han, and little by little deprived him of his authority. Fan Zeng was very angry.

"The empire is nearly won," he said. "Your Highness can manage alone. Allow me to retire to the ranks."

Xiang Yu gave his consent. But before Fan Zeng reached Pengcheng he had an abscess on his back and died.

Then Ji Xin, a general of Han, said to the king, "We are in desperate straits, sir. Let me impersonate you to deceive the Chu army so that you may escape."

One night the king sent the women of Xingyang together with two thousand soldiers out through the east gate, and the Chu troops attacked them from all sides. Ji Xin, in the carriage with the yellow canopy and the feather pennant on the left, came out to declare, "There is no food left in the city. The king of Han surrenders."

While all the Chu soldiers were cheering, the king of Han slipped out through the west gate with a few dozen horsemen and fled to Chenggao. When Xiang Yu saw Ji Xin, he demanded: "Where is your king?"

"His Majesty had already left," was the answer.

Xiang Yu had Ji Xin burned alive.



【原文】

汉王使御史大夫周苛、枞公、魏豹守荥阳。周苛、枞公谋曰：“反国之王，难与守城。”乃共杀魏豹。楚下荥阳城，生得周苛。项王谓周苛曰：“为我将，我以公为上将军，封三万户。”周苛骂曰：“若不趣降汉，汉今虏若，若非汉敌也！”项王怒，烹周苛，并杀枞公。

汉王之出荥阳，南走宛、叶，得九江王布，行收兵，复入保成皋。汉之四年，项王进兵围成皋，汉王逃，独与滕公出成皋北门，渡河走修武，从张耳、韩信军。诸将稍稍得出成皋，从汉王。楚遂拔成皋，欲西。汉使兵距之鞏，令其不得西。

是时，彭越渡河击楚东阿，杀楚将军薛公。项王乃自东击彭

【今译】

汉王派御史大夫周苛、枞公、魏豹守住荥阳。周苛、枞公商量道：“魏豹是反叛之王，难以同他一起守城。”于是一起杀了魏豹。楚军攻下荥阳城，活捉了周苛。项王对周苛说：“做我的将领，我任用你为上将军，封赏三万户。”周苛骂道：“你不赶紧投降汉王，汉军就要俘虏你了，你不是汉王的手下！”项王怒，煮死了周苛，并且杀了枞公。

汉王逃出荥阳，向南跑到宛县、叶县，找到九江王黥布，边走边收集士兵，又进入成皋守卫。汉高祖四年（公元前203年），项王进军包围成皋。汉王逃走，独自与滕公从成皋北门出去，渡过黄河跑到修武，来到张耳、韩信军中。诸侯陆续从成皋逃出，跟从汉王。楚军于是攻下成皋，想要西进。汉王派兵在鞏县抵抗，使楚军不能西进。

这时，彭越渡过黄河到东阿攻打楚军，杀了楚将军薛公。项王于是亲自东进攻打彭越。汉王得到淮阴侯军队，想渡过黄河向



The king of Han had entrusted the defence of Xingyang to his chief counsellor Zhou Ke, Lord Zong and Bao, once king of Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.). Zhou Ke and Lord Zong took counsel together and said, "A rebel king can hardly be trusted to defend the city." Thereupon they killed Bao.

Then the Chu army stormed the city and captured Zhou Ke alive.

"If you will serve as my general, I will make you a chief marshal with a fief of thirty thousand families," said Xiang Yu.

But Zhou Ke swore at him, "Unless you surrender soon, the king of Han will capture you. You are no match for him."

In a rage, Xiang Yu had him thrown into the cauldron and killed Lord Zong as well.

After escaping from Xingyang, the king of Han fled south to Wan and She. He won over Ying Bu, king of Jiujiang, and raised troops to defend Chenggao.

In the fourth year of Han, Xiang Yu laid siege to Chenggao. The king fled alone with Lord Teng through the north gate, crossed the river and went to Xiuwu to join the army of Zhang Er and Han Xin. One by one his generals escaped from Chenggao and joined him. When the Chu army took Chenggao and started westwards, the king of Han sent troops to hold Gong and check their advance.

At this point Peng Yue crossed the river and attacked Donga in Chu, killing the Chu general Lord Xue. So Xiang Yu turned east to fight



【原文】

越。汉王得淮阴侯兵，欲渡河南。郑忠说汉王，乃止壁河内。使刘贾将兵佐彭越，烧楚积聚。项王东击破之，走彭越。汉王则引兵渡河，复取成皋，军广武，就敖仓食。项王已定东海来，西，与汉俱临广武而军，相守数月。

当此时，彭越数反梁地，绝楚粮食，项王患之。为高俎，置太公其上，告汉王曰：“今不急下，吾烹太公。”汉王曰：“吾与项羽俱北面受命怀王，曰‘约为兄弟’，吾翁即若翁，必欲烹而翁，则幸分我一杯羹。”项王怒，欲杀之。项伯曰：“天下事未可知，且为天下者不顾家，虽杀之无益，只益祸耳。”项王从之。

楚、汉久相持未决，丁壮苦军旅，老弱罢转漕。项王谓汉王

【今译】

南。郑忠劝说汉王，于是停兵驻扎在河内。派刘贾带兵辅佐彭越，烧掉楚军粮草。项王东进打败了他们，赶跑了彭越。汉王就带兵渡过黄河，又攻占了成皋，驻军广武，就取敖仓的粮食。项王已平定东海回来，西进，同汉军都在广武驻扎，相持了几个月。

这时，彭越多次在梁地反楚，截断楚军粮食，项王为此忧虑。就做了一张高几案，把太公放在上面，告诉汉王道：“如不赶快投降，我就煮了太公。”汉王说：“我与项羽一起面向北接受怀王的命令，说‘结为兄弟’，我的父亲就是你的父亲，你一定要煮你的父亲，那我希望分到一杯肉汤。”项王发怒，想杀了太公。项伯说：“天下大事不可预知，而且争夺天下的人从不顾及家庭，即使杀了他也没什么好处，只会添祸罢了。”项王听从了他的话。

楚汉长久相持，胜负未决，年轻人苦于行军打仗，老弱的疲



Peng Yue. Now that the king of Han had Han Xin's army, he wanted to cross the Yellow River and head south, but on Zheng Zong's advice he stayed in his positions north of the river, sending Liu Jia with troops to aid Peng Yue and burn the Chu supplies. In the east Xiang Yu defeated Peng Yue and put him to flight.

The king struck across the river and recaptured Chenggao, stationed his army on Mount Guangwu and drew supplies from Aocang. Having conquered the land in the east, Xiang Yu marched west again. He, too, stationed his army opposite Mount Guangwu, confronting the forces of Han. This stalemate lasted for some months.

Meanwhile Peng Yue continued to rebel in Liang and to intercept the Chu army's grain supply, which seriously worried Xiang Yu. He had a high scaffold built on which he set the king of Han's father.

"Surrender at once, or I shall boil your father alive!" he threatened.

"Together we received King Huai's orders and swore to be brothers," replied the king of Han. "That makes my father yours as well. If you insist on boiling your own father, do send me a bowl of the soup!"

In a great rage Xiang Yu prepared to kill the old man, but Xiang Bo reasoned with him saying, "It is not yet settled who will win the empire, and a man who aspires to be emperor will not trouble about his family. Killing him could serve no purpose but only make for trouble."

Xiang Yu listened to his advice.

For a long time Chu and Han had battled yet neither had won a decisive victory. The able-bodied men were weary of fighting while the old and weak were exhausted by grain transportation. Xiang Yu made a proposal to the king of Han.

【原文】

曰：“天下匈匈数岁者，徒以吾两人耳。愿与汉王挑战决雌雄，毋徒苦天下之民父子为也！”汉王笑谢曰：“吾宁斗智，不能斗力。”项王令壮士出挑战，汉有善骑射者楼烦，楚挑战三合，楼烦辄射杀之。项王大怒，乃自被甲持戟挑战。楼烦欲射之，项王瞋目叱之，楼烦目不敢视，手不敢发，遂走还入壁，不敢复出。汉王使人间问之，乃项王也。汉王大惊。于是项王乃即汉王相与临广武间而语。汉王数之，项王怒，欲一战。汉王不听，项王伏弩射中汉王。汉王伤，走入成皋。

项王闻淮阴侯已举河北，破齐、赵，且欲击楚，乃使龙且往击之。淮阴侯与战骑将灌婴击之，大破楚军，杀龙且。韩信因自

【今译】

于后勤运输。项王对汉王说：“天下纷纷扰扰几年了，只是因为我們两人罢了，希望同汉王挑战，决一雌雄，不要白白折磨天下的百姓老小了。”汉王笑着谢绝道：“我宁肯斗智，不能斗力。”项王命壮士出营挑战。汉军有个善于骑马射箭的楼烦，楚军挑战了三个回合，楼烦都射杀了他们。项王大怒，于是亲自披甲持戟挑战。楼烦想射他，项王瞪眼喝斥他，楼烦眼睛不敢看项王，手不敢射箭，于是跑回军营，不敢再出来。汉王派人暗中打听，挑战的人是项王。汉王大惊。于是项王就靠近汉王，互相面对广武涧对话。汉王数落项王，项王发怒，想决一死战。汉王不听，项王埋伏的弓箭手射中了汉王。汉王受伤，跑进成皋。

项王听说淮阴侯已攻下河北，打败了齐国、赵国，将要攻打楚国，就派龙且去攻打他。淮阴侯同他交战，骑将灌婴出击，大败楚军，杀了龙且。韩信于是自立为齐王。项王听说龙且军队失



"Because of us, the empire has been in a tumult for years. Let us settle the issue now by hand-to-hand combat instead of involving all these other men."

The king declined with a smile.

"I prefer to fight with my wits," he said, "not with brute force."

Then Xiang Yu ordered his best fighters to challenge the men of Han to single combat. In the Han army there was a skilled mounted archer named Lou Fan, who with his arrows killed each Chu warrior after a few rounds of fighting. Xiang Yu in a fury buckled on armour himself and rode out with his halberd to do battle. As Lou Fan raised his bow, Xiang Yu glared and bellowed so fiercely that the bowman dared not meet his eyes or shoot but fled back to the rampart, too terrified to take the field again. When the king of Han sent to ask the reason and found that this warrior was Xiang Yu himself, he was terrified. Xiang Yu called to the king across the lines on Mount Guangwu. The king enumerated Xiang Yu's faults, while Xiang Yu angrily challenged him to a fight, but his challenge was not accepted. Then Xiang Yu shot him with a crossbow he had concealed, and the king fled, wounded, to Chenggao.

When Xiang Yu learned that Han Xin had conquered the land north of the Yellow River, defeated the armies of Qi and Zhao and was about to invade Chu, he sent General Long Ju to attack him. Han Xin and Guan Ying, the cavalry commander, struck back and utterly routed the Chu army, killing Long Ju. Han Xin then set himself up as king of Qi.



【原文】

立为齐王。项王闻龙且军破，则恐，使盱台人武涉往说淮阴侯。淮阴侯弗听。是时，彭越复反，下梁地，绝楚粮。项王乃谓海春侯大司马曹咎等曰：“谨守成皋，则汉欲挑战，慎勿与战，毋令得东而已。我十五日必诛彭越，定梁地，复从将军。”乃东行，击陈留、外黄。

外黄不下。数日，已降，项王怒，悉令男子年十五以上诣城东，欲坑之。外黄令舍人儿年十三，往说项王曰：“彭越强劫外黄，外黄恐，故且降，待大王。大王至，又皆坑之，百姓岂有归心？从此以东，梁地十余城皆恐，莫肯下矣。”项王然其言，乃赦外黄当坑者。东至睢阳，闻之皆争下项王。

汉果数挑楚军战，楚军不出。使人辱之，五六日，大司马

【今译】

败了，就害怕，派盱台人武涉去游说淮阴侯。淮阴侯不听。这时，彭越又反楚，攻下梁地，断绝楚军粮食。项王就对海春侯大司马曹咎等说：“小心守住成皋，如果汉军要挑战，千万不要同他们交战，能不让他们东进就行了。我十五天内一定杀了彭越，平定梁地，再回来同你们会合。”于是东进，攻打陈留、外黄。

外黄没能攻下。几天后，投降了，项王发怒，命令所有十五岁以上的男子到城东去，想活埋他们。外黄县令家臣有个儿子十三岁，去劝说项王道：“彭越强迫劫持外黄，外黄人害怕，所以暂且投降，等待大王。大王来了，又都活埋他们，百姓们哪里还能有归附之心？从这往东，梁地十余城都会害怕，没人肯投降了。”项王认为他说的对，就赦免了外黄本该活埋的人。东到睢阳的人，听说后都争着归顺项王。

汉军果然多次向楚军挑战，楚军不出战。汉军派人辱骂楚



Alarmed to hear of General Long Ju's defeat, Xiang Yu sent Wu She, a native of Xuyi, to win Han Xin over, but with no success.

Meanwhile Peng Yue had reconquered Liang and cut the Chu army's supply route. Xiang Yu told his high marshal Cao Jiu, marquis of Haichun, and the other generals, "See you defend Chenggao well. If the Han army challenges you, do not give battle. Simply stop them advancing eastwards. In fifteen days, when I have killed Peng Yue and retaken Liang, I shall join you again."

He marched east and attacked Chenliu and Waihuang on the way, but Waihuang held out against him for several days before it finally surrendered. In his rage he ordered all the men above fifteen to be taken to the east of the city, where he meant to have them massacred.

The thirteen-year-old son of the magistrate's steward went to him and said, "Peng Yue forced Waihuang to rebel, and because the city was afraid it submitted to him, waiting for Your Highness to come to the rescue. But now that you are here you want to butcher our men. How can you win the hearts of the people like this? East of here there are more than a dozen cities of Liang, and now they will all be afraid to surrender to you."

Xiang Yu saw the truth in what this lad said, and pardoned those who were to have been massacred. When this became known, all the cities east to Suiyang promptly surrendered.

The Han army challenged the Chu troops in Chenggao several times, but they would not be drawn. Then men were sent to insult them, until after five or six days the high marshal Cao Jiu lost his tem-



【原文】

怒，渡兵汜水。士卒半渡，汉击之，大破楚军，尽得楚国货赂。大司马咎、长史翳、塞王欣皆自刭汜水上。大司马咎者，故蕲狱掾，长史欣亦故栎阳狱吏，两人尝有德于项梁，是以项王信任之。当是时，项王在睢阳，闻海春侯军败，则引兵还。汉军方围钟离昧于荥阳东，项王至，汉军畏楚，尽走险阻。

是时，汉兵盛食多，项王兵罢食绝。汉遣陆贾说项王，请太公，项王弗听。汉王复使侯公往说项王，项王乃与汉约，中分天下，割鸿沟以西者为汉，鸿沟而东者为楚。项王许之，即归汉王父母妻子。军皆呼万岁。汉王乃封侯公为平国君。匿弗肯复见，曰：“此天下辩士，所居倾国，故号为平国君。”项王已约，乃引兵解而东归。

【今译】

军，五六天后，大司马发怒，带兵渡过汜水。士卒们渡到一半时，汉军攻打他们，大败楚军，尽得楚军财物。大司马曹咎、长史董翳、塞王司马欣都在汜水上自刎了。大司马曹咎，是原蕲地的狱掾，长史司马欣也是原栎阳的狱吏，两人曾对项梁有恩德，所以项王信任他们。这时，项王在睢阳，听说海春侯军队失败，就带兵回来。汉军正在荥阳东围攻钟离昧，项王来到，汉军害怕楚军，都逃到险要地带。

这时，汉军兵众粮多，项王兵疲粮尽。汉王派陆贾游说项王，请求送回太公，项王不答应。汉王又派侯公去劝说项王，项王于是与汉盟约，中分天下，割鸿沟以西地区归汉，鸿沟以东归楚。项王答应了，就送回了汉王的父母妻儿。军中都高呼万岁。汉王于是封侯公为平国君。侯公躲起来不肯再见他。汉王说：“这位是天下的辩士，所到之处可使国家倾覆，所以称为平国君。”项王订约后，就带兵撤退东归。



per and started leading his men across the River Si. When half the army was across, the men of Han attacked and routed them, capturing all the treasure of the kingdom of Chu. The high marshal Cao Jiu, the secretary Dong Yi and Sima Xin, king of Sai, killed themselves by the river. Cao Jiu, former gaoler of Qi, and Sima Xin, former gaoler of Yueyang, had been trusted by Xiang Yu because of the help they had once given Xiang Liang.

At this time Xiang Yu was at Suiyang. When he learned of his army's defeat he led his troops back. The soldiers of Han were besieging Zhongli Mo east of Xingyang. At Xiang Yu's approach, they withdrew in fear to the heights.

Now the Han army was strong and had ample supplies, while Xiang Yu's troops were exhausted and had no food. The king of Han dispatched Lu Jia to ask Xiang Yu to send his father back, but Xiang Yu refused. Then the king sent Lord Hou to persuade him. This time Xiang Yu agreed to divide the empire into two. The land west of Honggou should go to Han, that east of Honggou to Chu. This agreement reached, Xiang Yu handed over the king's father and wife, while all the soldiers cheered. The king of Han called Lord Hou the Leveller of States, but would not let him appear again.

"This man is the world's greatest orator," he explained. "Wherever he goes, he causes kingdoms to fall. That is why I call him the leveller of states."

After making this agreement, Xiang Yu led his army east.



【原文】

汉欲西归，张良、陈平说曰：“汉有天下太半，而诸侯皆附之。楚兵罢食尽，此天亡楚之时也。不如因其机而遂取之。今释弗击，此所谓‘养虎自遗患’也。”汉王听之。汉五年，汉王乃追项王至阳夏南，止军，与淮阴侯韩信、建成侯彭越期会而击楚军。至固陵，而信、越之兵不会。楚击汉军，大破之。汉王复入壁，深堑而自守。谓张子房曰：“诸侯不从约，为之奈何？”对曰：“楚兵且破，信、越未有分地，其不至固宜。君王能与共分天下，今可立致也。即不能，事未可知也。君王能自陈以东傅海，尽与韩信；睢阳以北至谷城，以与彭越。使各自为战，则楚易败也。”汉王曰：“善。”于是乃发使者，告韩信、彭越曰：“并力

【今译】

汉王也想回西方去，张良、陈平劝说道：“汉占有大半个天下，诸侯又都归附。楚军兵疲粮尽，这是上天灭亡楚国的时机，不如趁此机会夺取楚地。现在放过它不打，就是所谓‘养虎给自己留下祸患’啊。”汉王听从了他们的话。汉高祖五年（公元前202年），汉王又追项王到阳夏南，停军，同淮阴侯韩信、建成侯彭越约定日期一起攻打楚军。到固陵后，而韩信、彭越的军队没来会合。楚军攻打汉军，大败汉军。汉王又进入营垒，深挖沟堑防守。汉王对张子房说：“诸侯不按约定的办，怎么办呢？”张子房回答道：“楚军就要被打败，韩信、彭越没有分地，他们不来是必然的。君王能同他们分有天下，他们马上就能来。如果不能，事情就不可预料了。君王能把自陈以东至海的地区都给韩信；睢阳以北至谷城都给彭越。让他们为自己的利益作战，那么楚军就容易打败了。”汉王说：“好。”于是就派使者通告韩信、彭越



The king of Han prepared to go west, but Zhang Liang and Chen Ping advised against this saying, "You now have the greater half of the empire and the support of all the states, while the army of Chu is exhausted and has no food. Heaven has decreed Xiang Yu's downfall. You should seize this opportunity to crush him. To let Xiang Yu go now would be like bringing up a tiger — simply asking for trouble in future."

The king took their advice.

In the fifth year of Han, the king pursued Xiang Yu to south of Yangxia and stationed his troops there, appointing a date to attack with Han Xin, marquis of Huaiyin, and Peng Yue, marquis of Jiancheng. But when he reached Guling their armies failed to appear. Xiang Yu attacked and defeated the men of Han, who retreated to their ramparts and strengthened their defences.

"The marquises have failed me. What shall I do?" the king of Han asked Zhang Liang.

"Chu is about to be crushed, but Han Xin and Peng Yue have not been given fiefs," replied Zhang Liang. "No wonder they stayed away. If you will divide the empire with them, they will come immediately. If not, the issue is by no means certain. Give Han Xin the land from Chen east to the coast, give Peng Yue the land from Suiyang north to Gucheng, so that they will be fighting for themselves. Then Chu can easily be defeated."

"Very good," said the king of Han.

He sent envoys to inform Han Xin and Peng Yue, "If you join us



【原文】

击楚。楚破，自陈以东傅海与齐王；睢阳以北至谷城与彭相国。”使者至，韩信、彭越皆报曰：“请今进兵。”韩信乃从齐往，刘贾军从寿春并行，屠城父，至垓下。大司马周殷叛楚，以舒屠六，举九江兵，随刘贾、彭越皆会垓下，诣项王。

项王军壁垓下，兵少食尽，汉军及诸侯兵围之数重。夜闻汉军四面皆楚歌，项王乃大惊曰：“汉皆已得楚乎？是何楚人之多也！”项王则夜起，饮帐中。有美人名虞，常幸从；骏马名骓，常骑之。于是项王乃悲歌慷慨，自为诗曰：“力拔山兮气盖世，时不利兮骓不逝。骓不逝兮可奈何，虞兮虞兮奈若何！”歌数阕，美人和之。项王泣数行下，左右皆泣，莫能仰视。

【今译】

道：“合力攻打楚军。楚军打败后，自陈以东到海归齐王，睢阳以北到谷城地区给彭相国。”使者到达，韩信、彭越都回答说：“请求立即出兵。”韩信就从齐国出发，刘贾的军队从寿春并进，屠灭城父，来到垓下。大司马周殷叛楚，用舒县的兵力屠灭了六邑，带领九江军队，跟随刘贾、彭越都在垓下会合，直指项王。

项王军队在垓下筑起营垒，兵少粮尽，汉军及诸侯军队重重包围了他们。夜间听到汉军四面都唱着楚歌，项王就大惊道：“汉军都已得到楚国的土地了吗？为什么楚人这么多呢！”项王就连夜起来，在帐中饮酒。有位美人名叫虞，经常受宠幸跟从；骏马名叫骓，经常骑它。于是项王慷慨悲歌，自己作诗唱道：“力拔山啊气盖世，时不利啊骓不走。虽不走啊怎么办，虞姬啊虞姬啊把你怎么办！”唱了几遍，美人伴唱。项王泪下数行，随从们都哭了，不忍抬头看他。



to attack Chu, I will give all the land between Chen and the sea to Han Xin, king of Qi, all that between Suiyang and Gucheng to Chancellor Peng Yue when Xiang Yu is defeated."

After the envoys reached them, Han Xin and Peng Yue agreed to send troops at once. Han Xin advanced from Qi while Liu Jia led his army from Shouchun, took Chengfu and wiped out its defenders. Then both forces reached Gaixia. Marshal Zhou Yin also rebelled against Xiang Yu and marched from Shu to take Liu and massacre its defenders. In addition, the army of Ying Bu, king of Jiujiang, followed the armies of Liu Jia and Peng Yue. These forces converged upon Xiang Yu at Gaixia.

Xiang Yu's army at Gaixia, with only a handful of troops and right out of supplies, was hemmed in by the men of Han and the other states. At night he heard the besiegers all about him singing Chu songs.

"Has Han already conquered Chu?" he asked in dismay. "They have so many men of Chu with them!"

He rose that night to drink in his tent. With him was the lovely Lady Yu, who followed wherever he went, and Zhui, the swift steed which he always rode. Now Xiang Yu chanted a tragic air, setting words to it himself:

My strength uprooted mountains,
My spirit overtopped the world;
But the times are against me,
And Zhui can gallop no more.
When Zhui can gallop no more
What can I do?
And what is to become
Of Lady Yu?

He sang this song several times and Lady Yu joined in. Tears coursed down his cheeks, while all his followers wept and bowed their heads in sorrow.



【原文】

于是项王乃上马骑，麾下壮士骑从者八百余人，直夜溃围南出，驰走。平明，汉军乃觉之，令骑将灌婴以五千骑追之。项王渡淮，骑能属者百余人耳。项王至阴陵，迷失道，问一田父，田父给曰：“左。”左，乃陷大泽中。以故汉追及之。项王乃复引兵而东，至东城，乃有二十八骑。汉骑追者数千人。项王自度不得脱，谓其骑曰：“吾起兵至今八岁矣，身七十余战，所当者破，所击者服，未尝败北，遂霸有天下。然今卒困于此，此天之亡我，非战之罪也。今日固决死，愿为诸君快战，必三胜之，为诸君溃围，斩将，刈旗，令诸君知天亡我，非战之罪也。”乃分其骑以为四队，四向。汉军围之数重。项王谓其骑曰：“吾为公取彼一

【今译】

这时，项王骑上马，部下壮士骑马跟随的有八百多人，当夜突围往南去，骑马飞奔。天亮了，汉军才发觉，命骑将灌婴率五千骑兵追赶。项王渡过淮水，骑马能跟得上的只有一百多人。项王到了阴陵，迷失方向，问一农夫，农夫骗他说：“往左。”往左走，陷入了大沼泽中。因此汉军追上了。项王又领兵向东，到了东城，只有二十八个骑兵了。汉军骑兵追赶的有数千人。项王估计自己不能脱身，对他的骑兵们说：“我起兵到现在八年了，身经七十多次战役，阻挡我的被打败，我攻打的敌人都降服，不曾败过，这才霸有天下。可是现在终于被困在这里，这是天要灭我，不是作战的错误。今天一定要决一死战，想为诸君痛快一战，一定接连三次获胜，给诸君突围，斩将，拔旗，让诸君知道是上天要灭我，不是作战的过错。”于是把人马分成四队，向四方突围。汉军重重包围了他们。项王对他的骑兵们说：“我为你们斩他



Then he mounted his horse and rode into the night with little more than eight hundred staunch followers. Breaking through the enemy lines to the south, they galloped away.

By dawn the Han army knew that he had escaped, and the cavalry officer Guan Ying was sent with five thousand horsemen in pursuit. By the time Xiang Yu crossed the River Huai, there were little more than a hundred horsemen with him. At Yinling he lost his way and asked an old man in the fields to direct him. "Bear left!" The old man deliberately deceived him, and going left he was bogged down in the marshes so that the Han cavalry came up with him.

So Xiang Yu turned back east to Dongcheng. By now only twenty-eight horsemen remained with him, while his pursuers numbered several thousand. He knew that he could not escape and told his men:

"It is eight years since I rose in arms. In that time I have fought more than seventy battles. I swept all obstacles from my path, conquered every foe I attacked, and was never defeated. That is how I won the empire. But now suddenly I am hemmed in here. This is because Heaven is against me and not because my generalship is at fault. Today I shall perish here, but for your sake I shall fight gallantly and overcome the enemy three times. For you I shall break through their lines, kill their commander and cut down their flag, so that you may know it is Heaven that has destroyed me, not my generalship that is fault."

He divided his horsemen into four groups, facing in four directions. The Han forces had surrounded them on all sides.

"Watch me kill one of their commanders for you!" he cried.



【原文】

将。”令四面骑驰下，期山东为三处。于是项王大呼驰下，汉军皆披靡，遂斩汉一将。是时，赤泉侯为骑将，追项王，项王瞋目而叱之，赤泉侯人马俱惊，辟易数里。与其骑会为三处，汉军不知项王所在。乃分军为三，复围之。项王乃驰，复斩汉一都尉，杀数十百人，复聚其骑，亡其两骑耳。乃谓其骑曰：“何如？”骑皆伏曰：“如大王言。”

于是项王乃欲东渡乌江。乌江亭长舣船待，谓项王曰：“江东虽小，地方千里，众数十万人，亦足王也。愿大王急渡。今独臣有船，汉军至，无以渡。”项王笑曰：“天之亡我，我何渡为！且籍与江东子弟八千人渡江而西，今无一人还，纵江东父兄怜而王

【今译】

一将。”命骑兵四面奔驰而下，约定到山的东面分三处会合。这时项王大喊着奔驰而下，汉军都溃散，就斩杀了汉军一将。这时，赤泉侯为骑将，追赶项王，项王怒目呵斥他，赤泉侯人马都受到惊吓，远避数里，项王同他的骑士们分三处会合。汉军不知项王在哪里，就兵分三路，又包围了他们。项王继续奔驰，又斩杀汉军一名都尉，杀了上百人，又聚拢他的骑兵，只损失了两名而已。项王就问骑兵们：“怎么样？”骑兵们都伏在地上说：“像您说的一样。”

这时项王就想东渡乌江。乌江亭长停船靠岸，对项王说：“江东虽小，地方千里，民众数十万人，也足以称王了。希望大王赶紧渡江。现在只我有船，汉军来了，无船渡江。”项王笑道：“天要灭我，我还渡江干什么！况且我项籍与江东子弟八千人渡江而西，现在无一生还，纵然江东父兄可怜我让我做王，我还有什



He ordered his men to gallop down in four directions and reassemble in three groups east of the hill. Then with a mighty battle-cry he charged. The Han troops scattered before him and he struck down one of their commanders. A cavalry commander named Yang Xi, the marquis of Chiquan, pursued him. But Xiang Yu glared and bellowed at him so fiercely that Yang Xi's horse bolted and fled, terrified, for several *li*.

Xiang Yu rejoined his men, who by now had reassembled in three groups. The Han forces, not knowing which group he was in, divided into three to surround them again. Once more Xiang Yu charged through their lines and killed a military tribune as well as several dozen men. When he rallied his followers again, he had lost only two of them.

"How was that?" he asked.

His men bowed and replied, "You were as good as your word, Your Majesty."

Xiang Yu now considered crossing the River Wujiang and going to the east of the Yangtse. The station master there had a boat moored and waiting. "There is not much land east of the Yangtse," he said to Xiang Yu. "But a thousand square *li* and several hundred thousand men are enough for a kingdom. You must cross quickly, Your Highness! Mine is the only boat here. When the Han army comes, they will not be able to cross."

"Heaven is against me," replied Xiang Yu with a laugh. "What use is it to cross the river? Besides, I once crossed the Yangtse and went west with eight thousand young men from the east, but now I have come back alone. Even if the elders made me king out of pity, how

【原文】

我，我何面目见之！纵彼不言，籍独不愧于心乎！”乃谓亭长曰：“吾知公长者，吾骑此马五岁，所当无敌，常一日行千里，不忍杀之。以赐公。”乃令骑皆下马步行，持短兵接战，独籍所杀汉军数百人。项王身亦被十余创。顾见汉骑司马吕马童，曰：“若非吾故人乎？”马童面之，指王翳曰：“此项王也。”项王乃曰：“吾闻汉购我头千金，邑万户，吾为若德。”乃自刎而死。王翳取其头，余骑相蹂践争项王，相杀者数十人。最其后，郎中骑杨喜、骑司马吕马童、郎中吕胜、杨武各得其一体。五人共会其体，皆是。故分其地为五：封吕马童为中水侯，封王翳为杜衍侯，封杨喜为赤泉侯，封杨武为吴防侯，封吕胜为涅阳侯。

项王已死，楚地皆降汉，独鲁不下。汉乃引天下兵欲屠之，

【今译】

么脸面见他们呢！纵然他们不说，项籍难道不心中有愧吗！”于是对亭长说：“我知道您是长者。我骑这马五年了，所向无敌，曾经日行千里，不忍心杀它。赐给您吧。”于是命骑兵都下马步行，持短兵器交战，仅项籍就杀了汉军数百人。项王自己也受了十几处伤。回头看见汉骑司马吕马童，说：“这不是我的熟人吗？”马童面对着他，指给王翳说：“这是项王。”项王就说：“我听说汉王悬赏千金买我的头，封邑万户，我给你们些恩德吧。”于是自刎而死。王翳取下项王的头，其余骑兵争相践踏抢夺项王躯体，相互残杀的有数十人。到最后，郎中骑杨喜、骑司马吕马童、郎中吕胜、杨武各得到项王一体。五人一起合上尸体，都能对上。所以把封地划分为五份：封吕马童为中水侯，封王翳为杜衍侯，封杨喜为赤泉侯，封杨武为吴防侯，封吕胜为涅阳侯。

项王死后，楚地都投降了汉，只有鲁地不降。汉王率领天下



could I face them again? Though they said nothing, how could I hold up my head?" He turned to the station master. "I can see you are a worthy man. For five years I have ridden this horse, sweeping all before me, often galloping a thousand *li* in one day. I cannot bear to kill him. I give him to you."

He ordered his men to dismount for hand-to-hand combat. Xiang Yu alone killed several hundred men of Han and was wounded some dozen times. Then, turning to see the cavalry officer Lü Matong, he exclaimed:

"Isn't that my old friend Lu?"

Lü Matong, facing him, pointed him out to Wang Yi.

"There is Xiang Yu!"

Xiang Yu said, "I hear the king of Han has offered a reward of a thousand gold pieces and a fief of ten thousand families for my head. Let me do you a good turn!" With that he cut his own throat.

Wang Yi seized his head, while the other horsemen trampled and jostled each other for his body — several dozen of them fought and killed each other. Finally a cavalryman of the guard, Yang Xi, the cavalry marshal Lü Matong, and the knights Lü Sheng and Yang Wu secured one limb each. When the five of them fitted the limbs together, it was seen that they were indeed those of Xiang Yu, and the fief was divided among them. Lü Matong was made marguis of Zhongshui, Wang Yi marquis of Duyan, Yang Xi marquis of Chiquan, Yang Wu marquis of Wufang, and Lü Sheng marquis of Nieyang.

After Xiang Yu's death all the districts in Chu surrendered except Lu. The king of Han prepared to muster the troops of the whole

【原文】

为其守礼义，为主死节，乃持项王头视鲁，鲁父兄乃降。始，楚怀王初封项籍为鲁公，及其死，鲁最后下，故以鲁公礼葬项王谷城。汉王为发哀，泣之而去。

诸项氏枝属，汉王皆不诛。乃封项伯为射阳侯。桃侯、平皋侯、玄武侯皆项氏，赐姓刘。

太史公曰：吾闻之周生曰“舜目盖重瞳子”，又闻项羽亦重瞳子。羽岂其苗裔邪？何兴之暴也！夫秦失其政，陈涉首难，豪杰蜂起，相与并争，不可胜数。然羽非有尺寸，乘执起陇亩之中，三年，遂将五诸侯灭秦，分裂天下，而封王侯，政由羽出，号为“霸王”。位虽不终，近古以来未尝有也。及羽背关怀楚，放逐

【今译】

军队想屠灭它，因为它坚守礼义，为君主死节，就拿着项王的头给鲁地人看，鲁地父老才投降。当初，楚怀王最先封项籍为鲁公，到他死后，鲁地又最后投降，所以用鲁公的封号按礼制在谷城埋葬了项王。汉王为他发丧，洒泪而去。

项王的亲属们，汉王都不杀。又封项伯为射阳侯。桃侯、平皋侯、玄武侯都姓项，汉王赐他们姓刘。

太史公说：我听周生说“舜的眼睛大概是双瞳子”，又听说项羽也是双瞳子。项羽难道是舜的后代吗？为什么突然兴起呢！秦政令失误，陈涉首先发难，豪杰蜂起，互相争斗，数不胜数。可是项羽没有一点权势，乘势兴起于平民百姓之中，三年后，就率领五诸侯灭掉秦朝，分割天下，分封王侯，政令由项羽发布，号称“霸王”。王位虽未持久，却也是近古以来未曾有过的。等到



country to massacre the inhabitants. But because they had proved loyal and ready to die for their master, Xiang Yu's head was displayed to them. And thereupon the elders of Lu surrendered.

As King Huai of Chu had made Xiang Yu lord of Lu and this district was the last to surrender after his death, Xiang Yu was buried at Gucheng with the rites befitting the lord of Lu. The king of Han, before leaving, conducted the funeral in person and shed tears.

Instead of punishing Xiang Yu's kinsmen, the king made Xiang Bo marquis of Yiyang. The marquises of Tao, Pinggao and Xuanwu, all of whom belonged to the Xiang clan, were given the royal surname Liu.

The Grand Historian comments: I heard from the scholar Zhou that Emperor Shun had double pupils in his eyes, and they say Xiang Yu was the same. Does this mean that he was a descendant of Shun? His rise was remarkably sudden. When the Qin government abused its power and Chen She started a rebellion, the brave men who flocked to him were too many to count. Xiang Yu had no inch of territory at the start, yet, taking this chance to rise in the countryside, within three years he commanded five states and overthrew the House of Qin. He carved up the empire and enfeoffed kings and barons. He was supreme, styling himself the Overlord, and though his rule did not endure his achievement was surely unique in recent times.

But when he gave up the land within the Pass to return to Chu,

【原文】

义帝而自立，怨王侯叛己，难矣。自矜功伐，奋其私智而不师古，谓霸王之业，欲以力征经营天下，五年卒亡其国，身死东城，尚不觉悟，而不自责，过矣。乃引“天亡我，非用兵之罪也”，岂不谬哉！

【今译】

项羽放弃关中，怀念楚地，放逐义帝而自立为王，埋怨王侯们背叛自己，这时已处境艰难了。自夸战功、逞个人之智而不效法古人，认为霸王之业，就是用武力征伐夺取天下，五年的时间就丢掉了自己的国家，身死东城，还不觉悟，不责备自己，错了呀。又说“天要灭我，不是用兵的过错”，不是太荒谬了吗！





banished the Righteous Emperor and set himself up in his stead, he could hardly complain when the kings and barons turned against him. He boasted of his conquests, trusted only his personal judgement and did not follow ancient precedents. Considering himself the overlord, he tried to win the empire by military conquest, so that within five years he lost his kingdom and met his death at Dongcheng. Yet he never realized his mistake or blamed himself for his folly. What a fool he was to say that Heaven was against him and that it was not his generalship that was at fault!

¹ 209 B.C.

² Also known as Qing Pu.

³ The last ruler of Qin, who had surrendered.

⁴ Previously one of the Seven Warring States, now a nominal kingdom. It was Zhang Liang's native land.

⁵ An ornament in the form of a broken ring. He was hinting that Xiang Yu should break with Liu Bang.

⁶ 206 B.C.



越王句践世家

【原文】

越王句践，其先禹之苗裔，而夏后帝少康之庶子也。封于会稽，以奉守禹之祀。文身断发，披草莱而邑焉。后二十余世，至于允常。允常之时，与吴王阖庐战而相怨伐。允常卒，子句践立，是为越王。

元年，吴王阖庐闻允常死，乃兴师伐越。越王句践使死士挑战，三行，至吴阵，呼而自刭。吴师观之，越因袭击吴师，吴师败于槁李，射伤吴王阖庐。阖庐且死，告其子夫差曰：“必毋忘越。”

三年，句践闻吴王夫差日夜勒兵，且以报越，越欲先吴未发

【今译】

越王句践的祖先是夏禹的后代，是夏朝少康帝的庶子。封在会稽，以恭敬地看守供奉夏禹的祭祀。他们身上刺着花纹，剪断头发，斩除荒草，建造城邑。此后二十余世，传到允常。允常的时候，与吴王阖庐发生战争，互相结下怨仇，双方不断地讨伐。允常去世，儿子句践即位，这就是越王。

越王元年(公元前496年)，吴王阖庐听说允常去世，就发兵讨伐越国。越王句践派敢死的勇士去挑战，排成三行，到了吴军阵前，呼喊着自己自刭而死。吴军只顾观看他们，越军乘机袭击吴军，吴军在槁李被打败，射伤吴王阖庐。阖庐快要死的时候，告诉他的儿子夫差说：“一定不要忘记越国。”

三年(公元前494年)，句践听说吴王夫差日夜训练军队，为



Goujian, King of Yue

Goujian, king of Yue, traced his ancestry back to Yu the Great through descendants of King Shaokang of the Xia Dynasty who were enfeoffed at Kuaiji, where they kept up the sacrifices to Yu. They tattooed themselves, cut their hair short, and lived among brambles and weeds. After more than twenty generations there was Yunchang, whose fight with King Helü of Wu resulted in a feud. When Yunchang died, his son Goujian succeeded him as king of Yue.

In the first year of King Goujian,¹ King Helü, hearing of Yunchang's death, raised an army to attack Yue. Goujian made his desperadoes challenge the enemy. In three parties they went to the Wu lines and with a great shout cut off their own heads. While the men of Wu were watching this Yue launched a surprise attack at Zuili, defeated Wu and wounded Helü with an arrow. As he lay dying the king ordered his son Fucha, "Never forget Yue!"

Three years later Goujian heard that King Fucha of Wu was training troops day and night to avenge himself. He thought of attacking



【原文】

往伐之。范蠡谏曰：“不可。臣闻兵者凶器也，战者逆德也，争者事之末也。阴谋逆德，好用凶器，试身于所末，上帝禁之，行者不利。”越王曰：“吾已决之矣。”遂兴师。吴王闻之，悉发精兵击越，败之夫椒。越王乃以余兵五千人保栖于会稽。吴王追而围之。

越王谓范蠡曰：“以不听子故至于此，为之奈何？”蠡对曰：“持满者与天，定倾者与人，节事者以地。卑辞厚礼以遗之，不许，而身与之市。”句践曰：“诺。”乃令大夫种行成于吴，膝行顿首曰：“君王亡臣句践使陪臣种敢告下执事：句践请为臣，妻为

【今译】

了报复越国，越王打算在吴国未发兵之前，抢先去攻打它。范蠡劝谏说：“不可以这样做。我听说武器是凶器，发动战争是违背道德，争斗是处事的最下策。暗中计谋，违背道德，喜欢使用凶器，亲身参与最下策的事情，上帝禁止他，这样做是不吉利的。”越王说：“我已经决定了。”于是发兵。吴王听到消息后，发动全部精锐部队抗击越军，在夫椒打败越军。越王收聚五千名残兵败将退守在会稽山上。吴王追赶围困了他们。

越王对范蠡说：“因为不听您的话，所以到了这种地步，这该怎么办呢？”范蠡回答说：“能够完满地保住功业的，一定得到了上天的保佑；能够转危为安的，一定会得到人民的支持；能够节俭生财而成事的，一定是因地制宜得到了地利。要言辞谦卑地送给吴王丰厚的礼物，如果他不答应讲和，就要亲身去吴国做抵押，侍奉吴王。”句践说：“好吧。”就命令大夫种去吴国求和，他跪着行走叩头说：“君王的亡国之臣句践派陪臣文种斗胆报告您的办事人员：句践请求作您的奴仆，他的妻子作您的侍妾。”吴



before Wu's troops set out, but Fan Li advised against this, saying, "Think again. I have heard that arms are unlucky, war an evil force, and that disputes are minor affairs. If you plot with an evil force, by unlucky means, risking your life over a minor affair, you will be flouting Heaven's will and your campaign will not prosper."

"My mind is made up," said the king, and he raised an army.

When the king of Wu knew this, he sent picked troops against Yue and won the battle of Fujiao. Then with the five thousand men left to him, the king of Yue withdrew to Kuaiji, where he was pursued and besieged by the king of Wu.

Goujian told Fan Li, "This comes of not following your advice. What shall I do now?"

Fan Li replied, "One who overcomes self-satisfaction gains the help of heaven, one who can turn a disastrous situation into a secure one gains the help of men, and one who practises frugality gains the help of the earth. Try to placate him with humble words and rich gifts. And if that fails, offer yourself as a hostage."

Goujian, approving, sent his minister Wen Zhong to sue for peace. Approaching on his knees, Wen Zhong kowtowed to the king of Wu, saying, "Your worthless subject Goujian sends his slave with the request that he may be your subject and his wife your serving-maid."



【原文】

妾。”吴王将许之。子胥言于吴王曰：“天以越赐吴，勿许也。”种还，以报句践。句践欲杀妻子，燔宝器，触战以死。种止句践曰：“夫吴太宰嚭贪，可诱以利，请间行言之。”于是句践以美女宝器令种间献吴太宰嚭。嚭受，乃见大夫种于吴王。种顿首言曰：“愿大王赦句践之罪，尽入其宝器。不幸不赦，句践将尽杀其妻子，燔其宝器，悉五千人触战，必有当也。”嚭因说吴王曰：“越以服为臣，若将赦之，此国之利也。”吴王将许之。子胥进谏曰：“今不灭越，后必悔之。句践贤君，种、蠡良臣，若反国，将为乱。”吴王弗听，卒赦越，罢兵而归。

句践之困会稽也，喟然叹曰：“吾终于此乎？”种曰：“汤系夏

【今译】

王刚要答应他。伍子胥对吴王说：“上天把越国赐给吴国，您不要答应他。”种回去，把出使情况报告了句践。句践打算杀死妻子和儿子，烧毁宝器，然后决一死战。种阻止句践说：“吴太宰嚭贪婪，可以用重利引诱他，请派人秘密地向他说明意图。”于是句践就派种把美女宝器秘密地献给吴国太宰嚭。嚭接受了，就将大夫文种引见给吴王。文种叩头说：“希望大王赦免句践的罪行，将会送来他的全部宝器。如果不幸得不到赦免，句践就要全部杀死他的妻妾和儿女，烧毁他的宝器，率领他那五千人与您决一死战，您也必将付出相当的代价。”嚭乘机劝吴王说：“越国已经甘心作臣子了，如果能够赦免他，这对我国有利。”吴王准备答应他。伍子胥进谏说：“现在不灭亡越国，以后一定会后悔的。句践是位贤君，文种、范蠡是良臣，如果放他们回国，将会作起乱来。”吴王不听，终于赦免了越国，撤军回去了。

句践被困在会稽山，喟然叹息说：“我就这样结束了吗？”种



The king was about to agree when Wu Zixu said, "Heaven has delivered Yue into our hands. Don't accept."

When Wen Zhong reported this on his return, Goujian wanted to kill his wife and children, destroy his bronze vessels and jewels, and die fighting. But Wen Zhong stopped him, suggesting, "Bo Pi, the chancellor of Wu, is a grasping man who can be bribed. Let me go and talk to him secretly." So Goujian sent him with beautiful girls and jewels to the chancellor. Bo Pi accepted these and got Wen Zhong another audience with the king of Wu.

Wen Zhong kowtowed and said, "I entreat Your Majesty to pardon Goujian and take all his bronze vessels! Unless you have mercy, he will kill his wife and children, destroy his jewels and fight to the last with his five thousand men, who can still do some damage."

Bo Pi also advised the king, saying, "Goujian of Yue has surrendered as your slave. If you pardon him, this will benefit our state."

Again the king of Wu was about to agree when Wu Zixu advanced to warn him, "If you do not destroy Yue now, you will live to regret it. Goujian is an able ruler, while Wen Zhong and Fan Li are good ministers. If you let them return to Yue they will make trouble for Wu." But the king, ignoring his advice, pardoned Yue and withdrew his troops.

While besieged at Kuaiji, Goujian had sighed and asked, "Is this the end?"

Wen Zhong told him, "King Tang of Shang was a captive in Xiatai,

【原文】

台，文王囚羑里，晋重耳奔翟，齐小白奔莒，其卒王霸。由是观之，何遽不为福乎？”

吴既赦越，越王句践反国，乃苦身焦思，置胆于坐，坐卧即仰胆，饮食亦尝胆也，曰：“女忘会稽之耻邪？”身自耕作，夫人自织，食不加肉，衣不重采，折节下贤人，厚遇宾客，振贫吊死，与百姓同其劳。欲使范蠡治国政，蠡对曰：“兵甲之事，种不如蠡；填抚国家，亲附百姓，蠡不如种。”于是举国政属大夫种，而使范蠡与大夫柘稽行成，为质于吴。二岁而吴归蠡。

句践自会稽归七年，拊循其士民，欲用以报吴。大夫逢同谏曰：“国新流亡，今乃复殷给，缮饰备利，吴必惧，惧则难必至。

【今译】

说：“汤被系在夏台，文王囚禁在羑里，晋国重耳逃奔翟国，齐国小白逃到莒国，他们最终称王称霸了。由此来看，何愁今日的处境不成为将来的好运呢？”

吴王已经赦免了越王，越王句践回国后，就亲身受苦，忧心思虑，将苦胆悬挂在座位上，坐着躺着都时时仰尝苦胆，饮食也要尝尝苦胆，说：“你忘记会稽山的耻辱了吗？”他亲自耕作，夫人自己织布，吃饭不加肉，穿衣不穿华丽衣服，屈身卑躬地尊敬贤人，优厚地对待宾客，救济贫穷的人，吊唁死去的人，与百姓共同劳动。越王想让范蠡治理国家，范蠡回答说：“军事上的事情，文种不如范蠡；镇抚国家，使百姓亲近归附，范蠡不如文种。”这时他把国家政事都委托给大夫文种，让范蠡与大夫柘稽去求和，作为人质留在吴国。两年后吴国释放范蠡回国。

句践从会稽山回国已经七年，爱抚他的士兵百姓，想用他们来报复吴国。大夫逢同劝谏说：“国家新近流亡，现在才殷实富裕些，如果整治武器装备，吴国一定害怕，他们害怕了，我们的灾



King Wen of Zhou was imprisoned in Youli, Duke Wen of Jin fled to Di and Duke Huan of Qi to Ju; but they triumphed in the end. For all we know, this may lead to good fortune."

After being spared by Wu, Goujian returned to his state to lead a hard life and take anxious thought. He kept gall by his mat, looking at it while seated or lying down and tasting it while eating, to remind himself not to forget the disgrace of Kuaiji. He tilled the fields himself, made his wife spin cloth, went without meat and wore no coloured silks. He treated men of talent respectfully and his protégés handsomely, helping the poor, mourning the dead and sharing his people's toil.

Fan Li was asked to govern the state, but he said, "In military matters I am better than Wen Zhong. But in governing a state and uniting the people, I am no match for him." So affairs of state were entrusted to Wen Zhong while Fan Li and another minister, Zhe Ji, went to Wu to sue for peace and remained there as hostages. Two years later, Wu sent Fan Li back.

Seven years after his return from Kuaiji Goujian had succeeded in winning the support of his people, who were eager to take revenge on Wu. But his minister Feng Tong said, "Our state which was nearly destroyed is only just becoming self-supporting, prosperous and prepared for war. If we alarm Wu, we will inevitably bring disaster on



【原文】

且鸷鸟之击也，必匿其形。今夫吴兵加齐、晋，怨深于楚、越，名高天下，实害周室，德少而功多，必淫自矜。为越计，莫若结齐，亲楚，附晋，以厚吴。吴之志广，必轻战。是我连其权，三国伐之，越承其弊，可克也。”句践曰：“善。”

居二年，吴王将伐齐。子胥谏曰：“未可。臣闻句践食不重味，与百姓同苦乐。此人不死，必为国患。吴有越，腹心之疾，齐与吴，疥癬也。愿王释齐先越。”吴王弗听，遂伐齐，败之艾陵，虏齐高、国以归。让子胥。子胥曰：“王毋喜！”王怒，子胥欲自杀，王闻而止之。越大夫种曰：“臣观吴王政骄矣，请试尝之贷

【今译】

难就会到来。况且凶猛的大鸟袭击目标时，一定隐藏它的形体。现在吴国军队正在讨伐齐国、晋国，跟楚国、越国又有深仇大恨，名声超过所有国家，实际上危害了周王室，恩德少而武功多，一定更加骄傲自大。为我们越国考虑，不如结交齐国，亲近楚国，依附晋国，厚待吴国。吴国的志向更加广大，一定会轻视战争。这样我们联络这些势力，让三国联合攻打吴国，越国趁它疲惫的时候，就可以攻克它了。”句践说：“好吧。”

过了两年，吴王要攻打齐国。子胥劝谏说：“不行。我听说句践吃饭没有两样菜，与百姓同甘共苦。此人不死，一定成为我国的祸患。越国对于吴国来说，是心腹的重病；齐国对于吴国来说，只不过是疥癣的小病。希望您放弃讨伐齐国，先对付越国吧。”吴王不听，于是讨伐齐国，在艾陵打败齐军，俘虏齐国的高昭子、国惠子而回。吴王责怪子胥。子胥说：“大王不要高兴！”吴王恼怒，子胥想自杀，吴王听说后制止了他。越大夫文种说：“我观察吴王执政骄傲了，请试着向吴王借贷粮食，来摸一下



ourselves. A hawk must keep out of sight before it swoops. The king of Wu is now attacking Qi and Jin, while Chu and our state are his old enemies. So great is his prestige that he constitutes a threat to the House of Zhou. His virtue is slight but his achievement great, and he is ambitious, exulting in his strength. Our best plan, therefore, is to ally with Qi, Chu and Jin and keep on friendly terms with Wu. Since Wu aims at conquest, she will think nothing of fighting; but we shall have three other states as our allies against her, and by joining battle when Wu is exhausted we can defeat her."

"Very well," agreed Goujian.

Two years later the king of Wu decided to make war on Qi. Wu Zixu warned, "Don't do it yet. I have heard that Goujian eats only one dish at each meal and shares the joys and sorrows of his people. So long as this man lives, he is bound to be a threat to our state. Yue is like a cancer in our belly, while Qi is nothing but a disease of the skin. I hope you will leave Qi alone and attack Yue first."

The king paid no attention but attacked and defeated Qi at Ailing, capturing the ministers Gao and Guo.

When blamed for giving the wrong advice, Wu Zixu said, "Don't laugh too soon, sir!" The king was angry and Wu Zixu determined to kill himself, but the king, hearing of this, stopped him.

Wen Zhong, the minister of Yue, said, "I fancy the king of Wu is over-confident. Let us test him by asking for a loan of grain."



【原文】

粟，以卜其事。”请贷，吴王欲与，子胥谏勿与，王遂与之，越乃私喜。子胥言曰：“王不听谏，后三年吴其墟乎！”太宰嚭闻之，乃数与子胥争越议，因谗子胥曰：“伍员貌忠而实忍人，其父兄不顾，安能顾王？王前欲伐齐，员强谏，已而有功，用是反怨王。王不备伍员，员必为乱。”与逢同共谋，谗之王。王始不从，乃使子胥于齐，闻其托子于鲍氏，王乃大怒，曰：“伍员果欺寡人！”役反，使人赐子胥属镂剑以自杀。子胥大笑曰：“我令而父霸，我又立若，若初欲分吴国半予我，我不受，已，今若反以谗诛我。嗟乎，嗟乎，一人固不能独立！”报使者曰：“必取吾眼置吴东门，

【今译】

他对越国的态度。”越国请求借贷粮食，吴王打算借给他们，子胥劝谏不要借给，吴王还是借给了他们，越王暗中很高兴。子胥进言说：“大王不听劝谏，三年后吴国将要变成一片废墟了！”太宰嚭听说了，就多次与子胥就如何对待越国发生争议，因此在吴王面前谗陷子胥说：“伍员相貌忠厚，但实际上是个残忍之人，他连父兄都不顾，怎么能顾念君王呢？君王前次想讨伐齐国，伍员强行劝谏，结果讨伐获得胜利，因此反而怨恨君王。君王不防备伍员，伍员一定作乱。”嚭与逢同共同谋划，在吴王面前谗陷子胥。吴王开始不听信，就派子胥出使齐国，听说他把儿子托付给齐国的鲍氏，吴王大怒，说：“伍员果然欺骗我！”子胥办完事返回，吴王派人赐给子胥一把“属镂”剑让他自杀。子胥大笑说：“我使你的父亲称霸，我又拥立你为国君，你当初要分吴国的一半领土给我，我没有接受，没过多久，今天你反而因为听信谗言诛杀我。唉，唉，你一个人根本就不能够独自立国！”伍子胥告诉使者说：“一定要挖取我的眼睛悬挂在吴国都城的东门上，来观看越



The king of Wu agreed to a loan despite Wu Zixu's protests, to the secret delight of Yue.

"The king will not listen to good advice," lamented Wu Zixu. "In three years Wu will be in ruins."

When Chancellor Bo Pi heard this, he disputed with him. They had many arguments and Bo Pi slandered him to the king, saying, "He may look loyal but in fact he is quite ruthless. If he cared nothing for his own father and brother, why should he care about his king? When you decided to attack Qi he argued against it. When you were successful he started grumbling again. Unless you take care, he will rebel."

He plotted with Feng Tong to abuse Wu Zixu to the king, who did not believe them at first and sent Wu Zixu as his envoy to Qi. He was enraged, however, to hear that Wu Zixu had entrusted his son to the Bao family there.

"So he really is deceiving me!" he exclaimed. "He means to rebel."

He sent a messenger to Wu Zixu with his sword *Shulou* and orders to kill himself.

Wu Zixu laughed. "I made your father a great conqueror and set you on your throne," he cried. "You offered me half your kingdom then, but I would not accept it. Yet now you are putting me to death because of slander. Ah, well! No man can stand alone." He told the messenger, "Pluck out my eyes and set them over the East Gate, so

【原文】

以观越兵入也！”于是吴任嚭政。

居三年，句践召范蠡曰：“吴已杀子胥，导谏者众，可乎？”
对曰：“未可。”

至明年春，吴王北会诸侯于黄池，吴国精兵从王，惟独老弱与太子留守。句践复问范蠡，蠡曰“可矣”。乃发习流二千人，教士四万人，君子六千人，诸御千人，伐吴。吴师败，遂杀吴太子。吴告急于王，王方会诸侯于黄池，惧天下闻之，乃秘之。吴王已盟黄池，乃使人厚礼以请成越。越自度亦未能灭吴，乃与吴平。

其后四年，越复伐吴。吴士民罢弊，轻锐尽死于齐、晋。而越大破吴，因而留围之三年，吴师败，越遂复栖吴王于姑苏之山。吴

【今译】

国军队进城！”这时吴王任用嚭执掌国政。

过了三年，句践召范蠡说：“吴王已经杀死了子胥，阿谀逢迎的人很多，可以进攻吴国吗？”范蠡回答说：“还不行。”

到了第二年的春天，吴王北去黄池会见诸侯，吴国的精兵都跟随吴王去了，惟有老弱残兵和太子留守。句践又问范蠡，范蠡说：“可以进攻了。”于是派遣两千熟习水性的士兵，训练有素的士兵四万人，近卫军六千人，各种理事军官一千人，讨伐吴国。吴国军队被打败，于是杀死吴太子。吴国人向吴王告急，吴王正在黄池与诸侯会见，害怕天下人听说这个情况，就保守秘密。吴王在黄池会盟后，就派人用厚礼向越国请求讲和。越王自己估量也不能灭亡吴国，就与吴国讲和了。

这以后四年，越国又讨伐吴国。吴国军民疲惫，精锐部队全部死在与齐国、晋国的战役上。越国大破吴军，因而越军留下围困吴国三年，吴国军队再度失败，越军于是又把吴王围困在姑苏



that I can watch the men of Yue march into Wu.”

After this all affairs of state were entrusted to Bo Pi.

When three more years had passed, Goujian summoned Fan Li to ask, “The king of Wu has killed Wu Zixu and is surrounded by flatterers — is this our chance?”

The answer was, “Not yet.”

The next spring King Fucha, escorted by his best troops, went north to Huangchi for a conference with all the heads of states, leaving only the old and infirm under the crown prince to guard Wu. And now when Goujian questioned Fan Li again, he agreed that the time had come. Yue mobilized two thousand men sentenced to exile, forty thousand trained men, six thousand knights and a thousand officers. They attacked Wu, defeated the defenders and killed the crown prince.

When this disaster was announced to King Fucha at the conference, he kept it secret from the other states. After an agreement had been reached at Huangchi, he sent envoys with rich gifts to Yue to sue for peace. And since Goujian felt unable to destroy Wu yet, he made peace.

Four years later Yue attacked Wu again. Because the people of Wu were exhausted and their best troops had fallen in the wars with Qi and Jin, Yue routed their forces and besieged the capital for three years. Then the army of Wu was beaten and the king driven to Mount Gusu.



【原文】

王使公孙雄肉袒膝行而前，请成越王曰：“孤臣夫差敢布腹心，异日尝得罪于会稽，夫差不敢逆命，得与君王成以归。今君王举玉趾而诛孤臣，孤臣惟命是听，意者亦欲如会稽之赦孤臣之罪乎？”句践不忍，欲许之。范蠡曰：“会稽之事，天以越赐吴，吴不取。今天以吴赐越，越其可逆天乎？且夫君王蚤朝晏罢，非为吴邪？谋之二十二年，一旦而弃之，可乎？且夫天与弗取，反受其咎。‘伐柯者其则不远’，君忘会稽之厄乎？”句践曰：“吾欲听子言，吾不忍其使者。”范蠡乃鼓进兵，曰：“王已属政于执事，使者去，不者且得罪。”吴使者泣而去。句践怜之，乃使人谓吴王曰：“吾置王甬东，君百家。”吴王谢曰：“吾老矣，不能

【今译】

山上。吴王派公孙雄脱去上衣露出胳膊跪着行走前往，向越王请求讲和，说：“孤立无援的臣子夫差大胆表露心里话，以前曾经在会稽山得罪过您，夫差不敢违背您的命令，得以与您讲和，就撤军回国了。现在您举玉足来诛孤臣，孤臣我惟命是听，料想您也会像会稽山我对您那样赦免孤臣的罪行？”句践不忍，想答应他。范蠡说：“会稽山的事情，是上天以越国赐给吴国，吴国不取。今天上天以吴国赐给越国，越国难道可以违背天意吗？况且君王早早上朝很晚退朝，不是为了吴国吗？谋划了二十二年，一旦放弃它，可以吗？况且上天给我们而不取，反而要受到惩罚的。‘砍伐树木做斧柄，斧柄的样子就在身边’，您忘记了会稽山的灾难了吗？”句践说：“我想听从您的意见，但我不忍心拒绝他的使者。”范蠡于是击鼓进军，说：“大王已经把国政交给我了，使者回去吧，不然我就要得罪你了。”吴国使者流着泪离去了。句践怜悯他，就派人告诉吴王说：“我把您安置在甬东，统治一百家。”吴王谢绝



He made Gongsun Xiong his envoy, to advance upon his knees with bared back and beg the king of Yue for peace.

"Your subject Fucha presumes to lay bare his heart to you," said Gongsun Xiong. "In days gone by he wronged you at Kuaiji, but complied with your request for peace. Now that you have advanced in majesty to mete out punishment, he must obey your commands. Will you pardon his offence, as he pardoned yours at Kuaiji?"

Goujian had not the heart to refuse, but Fan Li said, "At Kuaiji, Heaven delivered us into their hands, but they did not seize their chance. Now Heaven has delivered them into our hands: is Yue to oppose the will of Heaven? Did you not hold court for long hours every day on account of Wu? Twenty-two years you have been planning this: how can you throw away your victory now? One who spurns what Heaven offers will suffer for it. As the saying goes, the woodcutter has not far to look for the example of an axehandle. Have you forgotten what trouble you were in on Mount Kuaiji, sir?"

"I want to be guided by you," replied Goujian. "But I am sorry for the envoy."

Accordingly Fan Li sounded drums and ordered troops to advance. Then he announced, "His Majesty has left this in my hands. The envoy must leave or pay the penalty." Then the envoy of Wu left, weeping.

Goujian out of pity sent this message to the king of Wu, "I shall settle you east of Yong and make you lord over one hundred families."

But the king of Wu declined, saying, "I am too old to serve

【原文】

事君王！”遂自杀。乃蔽其面，曰：“吾无面以见子胥也！”越王乃葬吴王而诛太宰嚭。

句践已平吴，乃以兵北渡淮，与齐、晋诸侯会于徐州，致贡于周。周元王使人赐句践胙，命为伯。句践已去，渡淮南，以淮上地与楚，归吴所侵宋地于宋，与鲁泗东方百里。当是时，越兵横行于江、淮东，诸侯毕贺，号称霸王。

范蠡遂去，自齐遗大夫种书曰：“蜚鸟尽，良弓藏；狡兔死，走狗烹。越王为人长颈鸟喙，可与共患难，不可与共乐。子何不去？”种见书，称病不朝。人或谗种且作乱，越王乃赐种剑曰：

【今译】

说：“我老了，不能事奉君王！”于是吴王自杀。他自杀时蒙起自己的脸，说：“我没有脸面去见子胥！”越王埋葬了吴王，诛杀了太宰嚭。

句践已经平定吴国，就率军北渡淮水，与齐国、晋国诸侯在徐州会见，向周王室进献贡品。周元王派人赐给句践祭肉，命他作诸侯之伯。句践已经离去，渡淮河南去，把淮河流域送给楚国，把吴国所侵夺的宋国土地归还给宋国，把泗水东部方圆百里的土地给了鲁国。在当时，越军在长江、淮河以东畅行无阻，诸侯都来祝贺，号称霸王。

范蠡于是离去，从齐国送给大夫文种书信说：“飞鸟尽，良弓藏；狡兔死，走狗烹。越王的相貌是长脖颈、鸟嘴，可以与他共患难，不可以与他共享乐。您为什么不离去呢？”文种看了书信后，借口有病，不去上朝。有人在越王面前谗陷文种将要作乱，越王就赐给文种一把剑说：“您教我讨伐吴国的七条计策，我才用



another King." He covered his face, crying, "How can I face Wu Zixu?" And with that he killed himself.

Goujian had the king of Wu buried and executed Chancellor Bo Pi. After his conquest of Wu he advanced across the River Huai to meet the rulers of Qi and Jin at Xuzhou. He presented tribute to the king of Zhou, who sent an envoy to him with sacrificial meat and gave him the title of Lord Protector. Then Goujian returned south of the River Huai and gave the Huai Valley to Chu, returned the territory of Song which Wu had annexed, and gave a hundred square *li* east of the River Si to Lu. The army of Yue was now supreme throughout the eastern Yangtse and Huai River valleys. All the states sent Goujian congratulations, and he called himself the Overlord.

Then Fan Li left, sending Wen Zhong a letter from Qi in which he said, "When all the birds are killed the good bow is put away. When the cunning hares are dead the hounds are made into stew. The king of Yue with his long neck and predatory mouth is a good companion in time of trouble but not in time of peace. You had better leave."

After receiving this letter, Wen Zhong stayed away from court on the pretext of illness but slanderers accused him of plotting rebellion. Then Goujian sent him a sword with this message, "You told me of

【原文】

“子教寡人伐吴七术，寡人用其三而败吴，其四在子，子为我从先王试之。”种遂自杀。

句践卒，子王鼫与立。王鼫与卒，子王不寿立。王不寿卒，子王翁立。王翁卒，子王翳立。王翳卒，子王之侯立。王之侯卒，子王无彊立。

王无彊时，越兴师北伐齐，西伐楚，与中国争强。当楚威王之时，越北伐齐，齐威王使人说越王曰：“越不伐楚，大不王，小不伯。图越之所为不伐楚者，为不得晋也。韩、魏固不攻楚。韩之攻楚，覆其军，杀其将，则叶、阳翟危；魏亦覆其军，杀其将，则陈、上蔡不安。故二晋之事越也，不至于覆军杀将，马汗之力不

【今译】

了三条就打败了吴国，剩下那四条还在您那里，您替我去先王那里试行吧。”文种于是自杀。

句践去世，儿子王鼫与即位。王鼫与去世，儿子王不寿即位。王不寿去世，儿子王翁即位。王翁去世，儿子王翳即位。王翳去世，儿子王之侯即位。王之侯去世，儿子王无彊即位。

王无彊在位时，越国兴兵北去讨伐齐国，西去讨伐楚国，与中原国家争强。正当楚威王的时候，越国北去讨伐齐国，齐威王派人游说越王说：“越国不去讨伐楚国，大则不能称王，小则不能称霸。考虑越国之所以不去讨伐楚国，因为没有得到晋国的支持。韩国、魏国本来就不敢攻打楚国。韩国攻打楚国，楚国就会使韩国军队覆没，并且杀死它的将领，那么叶邑、阳翟就危险了；魏国如果攻打楚国，也将使它的军队覆没，它的将领被杀，那么陈、上蔡就都不得安宁了。所以二晋去侍奉越国，就不至于覆军死将，汗马功劳不会出现。您为什么重视得到晋国的支持



seven ways to conquer Wu and by using three of them I have overthrown it. That leaves you with four — why not try them with my kingly ancestors?" Thereupon Wen Zhong committed suicide.

Goujian died and was succeeded by his son, Shiyu. The throne passed from father to son, from Shiyu to Bushou, Weng, Yi, Zhihou and Wujiang. During the reign of Wujiang, Yue attacked Qi in the north and Chu in the west, contending for power with the central states.

In the time of King Wei of Chu, Yue struck north against Qi and King Wei of Qi sent an envoy to advise the king of Yue, "Unless you attack Chu, you cannot be a king or a conqueror. I assume you have not yet done so because you lack the support of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), who will not attack Chu. If Han defeated an army of Chu and killed its commander, the Han cities of Ye and Yangdi would be endangered. If Wei destroyed an army of Chu and killed its commander, the Wei cities of Chen and ShangCai would be endangered. These two states cannot help you unless they destroy the enemy's force. Why do you value their support so highly?"

The king of Yue replied, "I am not asking these states to cross swords with Chu, let alone storm its cities. I simply want the Wei army



【原文】

效。所重于得晋者何也？”越王曰：“所求于晋者，不至顿刃接兵，而况于攻城围邑乎？愿魏以聚大梁之下，愿齐之试兵南阳莒地，以聚常、郟之境，则方城之外不南，淮、泗之间不东，商、於、析、郾、宗胡之地，夏路以左，不足以备秦，江南、泗上不足以待越矣。则齐、秦、韩、魏得志于楚也，是二晋不战分地，不耕而获之。不此之为，而顿刃于河山之间以为齐秦用，所待者如此其失计，奈何其以此王也！”齐使者曰：“幸也越之不亡也！吾不贵其用智之如目，见豪毛而不见其睫也。今王知晋之失计，而不自知越之过，是目论也。王所待于晋者，非有马汗之力也，又非可与合军连和也，将待之以分楚众也。今楚众已分，

【今译】

呢？”越王说：“我所要求晋国的，不是让它去大动干戈，何况是攻城围邑呢？我希望魏国在大梁城下聚集军队，希望齐国在南阳莒地练兵，聚集兵力至常邑、郟邑的边境，那么方城以外的楚军不能南下，淮水、泗水之间的楚军不再向东来，商邑、於邑、析邑、郾邑、宗胡地区及夏路以西的楚军不足以防备秦国，江南、泗水一带的楚军不足以对付越国了。那么齐国、秦国、韩国、魏国就可以从楚国那里实现自己的意愿，这样魏国、韩国不用战争也可以分到土地，不用耕种就可以获得粮食了。韩、魏现在不是这样做，而是在黄河、华山之间用兵作战，被齐国、秦国所利用，所期待的韩国、魏国如此失策，怎么能够藉助它们来称王呢！”齐国使者说：“真侥幸啊，越国没有灭亡！我不敬重那样运用智谋，就像眼睛一样，能看到细小的毫毛，但却看不见自己的睫毛。现在大王知晓韩国、魏国的失策，而不知道越国自己的过错，这就是刚才说的‘眼睛’之论了。大王所期待的韩国、魏国，并非是要它们立汗马功劳，也不是想和它们联合建立同盟，而将期待的是分散楚国的兵力。现在楚军已经分散了，还期



to gather at Daliang, and the forces of Qi to muster at Nanyang and Ju and gather at Chang and Yan. Then the men of Chu would not dare march south of Fangcheng or east of the Huai and Si Rivers. They would not have strength enough to defend themselves against Qin west of Shang, Yu, Xi, Li and Zonghu, or against Yue along the Yangtse and Si Rivers. Qi, Qin, Han and Wei would hold Chu at bay while the two states of Jin, without resorting to arms, would get their share of Chu's territory, reaping a harvest without ploughing. Instead of this, however, they are contending by the Yellow River and Mount Hua for the territory of Qi and Qin. This is foolish behaviour; how can they become kings like that?"

The envoy of Qi replied, "Luck alone has saved Yue from destruction. It is not wisdom to see fine hairs but not the eyebrow. In the same way, you see the folly of the states of Jin but not the mistakes of Yue. You do not expect Han and Wei to fight for you or enter into a military alliance with you, but only want them to exhaust Chu's strength. But why place your hopes on them when Chu's forces are already scattered?"



【原文】

何待于晋？”越王曰：“奈何？”曰：“楚三大夫张九军，北围曲沃、於中，以至无假之关者三千七百里，景翠之军北聚鲁、齐、南阳，分有大此者乎？且王之所求者，斗晋楚也；晋楚不斗，越兵不起，是知二五而不知十也。此时不攻楚，臣以是知越大不王，小不伯。复雎、庞、长沙，楚之粟也；竟泽陵，楚之材也。越窥兵通无假之关，此四邑者不上贡事于郢矣。臣闻之，图王不王，其敝可以伯。然而不伯者，王道失也。故愿大王之转攻楚也。”

于是越遂释齐而伐楚。楚威王兴兵而伐之，大败越，杀王无彊，尽取故吴地至浙江，北破齐于徐州。而越以此散，诸族子争

【今译】

待韩国、魏国什么呢？”越王说：“该怎么办呢？”齐国使者说：“楚国的三位大夫，张开了他们九军的兵力，往北围攻曲沃、於中，直到无假之关，足有三千七百里的战线，景翠的军队聚结在北边的鲁国、齐国和南阳地区，分散楚国的军队，还有比现在更大的吗？而且大王所期求的，是使晋、楚两国相斗；晋、楚军队不相斗，越军就不发动，这是只知道二五却不知道十了。这时不攻打楚国，我因此知道越国大不能称王，小不能称霸。再说雎邑、庞邑、长沙，是楚国的粮区；竟泽陵，是楚国的木材产区。越国出兵打通无假之关，这四邑就不能向楚国郢都进献贡品了。我听说，谋取王业而不能称王，那最不好的结果是可以称伯。然而连伯也称不上的，那是因为他失去了王道。所以希望大王转向攻打楚国吧。”

于是越军就放弃齐国而攻打楚国。楚威王发兵攻打越国，大败越军，杀死王无彊，全部夺取原来吴国的土地，一直到浙江，往北在徐州大败齐军。越国从此分崩离散，各族子弟争抢权位，



The king of Yue asked him to explain himself.

He said, "The three ministers of Chu are deploying their armies. They have laid siege to Quwo and Wuzhong in the north and their line extends 3,700 *li* to the Wujia Pass. Jing Cui's army is stationed in the north near Lu, Qi and Nanyang. Could they have covered a greater area? You are hoping that Han and Wei will fight Chu, and unless they do your army will not advance. This is like a man who does not know that two fives add up to ten. Unless you attack Chu now, you will never become a conqueror or king. Chu gets its grain from Zhou, Pang and Changsha, its timber from the mountains and marshes of Zeling. If you dispatch troops to the Wujia Pass, those four districts will stop sending tribute to the capital of Chu. I have heard that a man who fails to become a king can at least become a conqueror. If you cannot be a great conqueror, it is because you have not followed the kingly way. I advise you, sir, to turn and attack Chu."

Then the king of Yue called off his attack on Qi and turned against Chu, but King Wei of Chu raised an army and utterly routed the troops of Yue, killing King Wujiang and recapturing all the former territory of Wu up to the River Zhe. He also defeated the army of Qi at Xuzhou in the north.

Because of this, Yue became disunited and many princes contended



【原文】

立，或为王，或为君，滨于江南海上，服朝于楚。

后七世，至闽君摇，佐诸侯平秦。汉高帝复以摇为越王，以奉越后。东越、闽君，皆其后也。

范蠡事越王句践，既苦身戮力，与句践深谋二十余年，竟灭吴，报会稽之耻，北渡兵于淮以临齐、晋，号令中国，以尊周室，句践以霸，而范蠡称上将军。还反国，范蠡以为大名之下，难以久居，且句践为人可与同患，难与处安，为书辞句践曰：“臣闻主忧臣劳，主辱臣死。昔者君王辱于会稽，所以不死，为此事也。今既以雪耻，臣请从会稽之诛。”句践曰：“孤将与子分国而

【今译】

有的称王，有的称君，分住在长江以南沿海一带，他们归附楚国，向楚国朝贡。

后来过了七世，到了闽君摇即位，帮助诸侯推翻了秦王朝。汉高祖又让摇作了越王，作为越国的后代供奉祭祀。东越、闽君，都是越国的后代。

范蠡侍奉越王句践，劳苦身体，努力勤政，与句践运筹谋划二十多年，终于灭亡了吴国，雪洗了会稽山的耻辱，向北进军，渡过淮河，威临齐国、晋国边境，号令中原国家，尊奉周王室，句践因此称霸，范蠡号称上将军。回国以后，范蠡认为盛名之下，难以久居，而且句践的为人可以与他同患难，难于与他共安乐，给句践写了一封书信说：“我听说君主忧虑，臣子应该劳苦，君主受辱，臣子应当去死。从前君王在会稽山受到侮辱，我之所以没有去死，是为了报仇雪耻。现今既然已经雪耻，我请求领受会稽山受辱的罪罚。”句践说：“我要把越国分一半给您，让我们



for power. Some took the title of prince, others of lord, and they ruled along the seacoast south of the Yangtse, acknowledging the suzerainty of Chu.

Seven generations later Lord Yao of Minyue joined forces with other states to overthrow the Qin empire. The First Emperor of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) made him prince of Yue to continue the Yue dynastic sacrifices. The prince of Dongyue and the lord of Minyue were his descendants.

For more than twenty years Fan Li had toiled without sparing himself in the service of Goujian, advising the king till at last he overthrew Wu and avenged the disgrace of Kuaiji. When Goujian dispatched troops north of the River Huai to threaten Qi and Jin, lorded it over all the central states and exhorted them to respect the House of Zhou, he became Lord Protector with Fan Li as his supreme commander.

After his return Fan Li realized that he was too prominent now for his own safety, for Goujian was a good companion in danger but not in time of peace. He therefore sent a letter to the king, saying, "I have heard that if something preys on the ruler's mind, his minister should exert himself. If the ruler is disgraced, his minister should die. When you suffered disgrace at Kuaiji I did not die because I wished to take revenge, but now that we have wiped out our shame I beg to be punished."

"I want to share my kingdom with you," said Goujian. "If you



【原文】

有之。不然，将加诛于子。”范蠡曰：“君行令，臣行意。”乃装其轻宝珠玉，自与其私徒属乘舟浮海以行，终不反。于是句践表会稽山以为范蠡奉邑。

范蠡浮海出齐，变姓名，自谓鸱夷子皮，耕于海畔，苦身戮力，父子治产。居无几何，致产数十万。齐人闻其贤，以为相。范蠡喟然叹曰：“居家则致千金，居官则至卿相，此布衣之极也。久受尊名，不祥。”乃归相印，尽散其财，以分与知友乡党，而怀其重宝，间行以去，止于陶，以为此天下之中，交易有无之路通，为生可以致富矣。于是自谓陶朱公。复约要父子耕畜，废居，候时转物，逐什一之利。居无何，则致货累巨万。天下称陶朱公。

【今译】

共同享有它。不这样，我就要加罪给您。”范蠡说：“君王发布自己的命令，臣子要实行自己的意愿。”于是范蠡装上细软珠宝，与他的侍从乘船浮海而去，始终没有回去。于是句践为表彰范蠡把会稽山作为他的封邑。

范蠡浮海到了齐国，改姓更名，自称为鸱夷子皮，在海边耕种，吃苦耐劳，努力生产，父子治理产业。居住不久，就获得财产数十万。齐国人听说他有才能，就让他作国相。范蠡喟然叹息说：“居处家里能够挣得千金，做官能够位居卿相，这是平民百姓达到的顶点。长久享受尊贵名号，是不吉祥的。”于是归还相印，散尽他的财产，分给他的知心好友和乡亲们，携带贵重财宝，悄悄地离去，到陶地住下来，他认为此地是天下的中心，买卖交易，各地道路畅通，做生意可以发财致富。于是自称陶朱公。又约定父子耕种畜牧，囤积货物，等待时机，转卖货物，求得十分之一的利润。过了不久，就积累资产达到万万。天下人都称道陶朱公。



refuse, I shall kill you.”

However, Fan Li replied, “A sovereign gives commands, a subject does what he thinks right.” So gathering together his jewels and precious possessions, he put out to sea with his followers and never returned to Yue. Goujian designated Mount Kuaiji as his fief.

Fan Li went by sea to Qi, where he changed his name and called himself Master Wine-skin. He worked hard with his sons as a farmer on the coast, and amassed considerable property. Soon he had tens of thousands. The men of Qi, knowing his great ability, made him their prime minister.

Then Fan Li said with a sigh, “For a private citizen to make thousands of pieces of gold or for an official to become a minister are the highest attainments of ordinary men; but no good can come of a long period of fame and nobility.” So he returned the minister’s seal, gave all his money to his friends and neighbours and left quietly with his jewels to settle in Tao, a great commercial centre where a man could grow rich by trading. He now called himself Lord Zhu of Tao. Here once more he and his sons tilled the soil, bred cattle, stored goods and sold them at the right season to make a ten percent profit. In a short time he had amassed tens of thousands again and his name was known throughout the land.



【原文】

朱公居陶，生少子。少子及壮，而朱公中男杀人，囚於楚。朱公曰：“杀人而死，职也。然吾闻千金之子不死于市。”告其少子往视之。乃装黄金千溢，置褐器中，载以一牛车。且遣其少子，朱公长男固请欲行，朱公不听。长男曰：“家有长子曰家督，今弟有罪，大人不遣，乃遣少弟，是吾不肖。”欲自杀。其母为言曰：“今遣少子，未必能生中子也，而先空亡长男，奈何？”朱公不得已而遣长子，为一封书遗故所善庄生。曰：“至则进千金于庄生所，听其所为，慎无与争事。”长男既行，亦自私赍数百金。

至楚，庄生家负郭，披藜藿到门，居甚贫。然长男发书进千

【今译】

朱公居住陶地，生下一个小儿子。小儿长大了，朱公的二儿子杀了人，囚禁在楚国。朱公说：“杀人偿命，这是常理。但是我听说家有千金的儿子不被杀死在闹市中。”朱公告诉他的二儿子前去探视二儿子。就装了一千镒黄金，放进褐色的器具中，用一辆牛车拉着。将要打发小儿子上路，朱公的大儿子坚决请求要去，朱公不答应。大儿子说：“家中有长子叫家督，如今弟弟犯了罪，父亲不派我去，却派小弟前往，这说明我不好。”他要自杀。他的母亲替他说情，说：“现在派小儿子去，不一定能够救活咱们二儿子，却先白白地失掉大儿子，怎么办呢？”朱公不得已就改派大儿子，写了一封书信给他的旧日好友庄生。朱公告诉他的二儿子说：“到了那里就把千镒黄金送到庄生家中，听从他的安排，千万不要和他争论事情。”大儿子出发了，身上也私自带了数百镒黄金。

朱公的大儿子到了楚国，庄生的家是在楚国的城郊，拨开满地野草才到他的家门，居住条件很差。然而大儿子送上书信并献



While in Tao, Lord Zhu had a third son. When this boy grew up, the second son was arrested for murder in Chu.

"It is right that a murderer should die," said Lord Zhu. "But I have heard that the son of a wealthy family need not die on the execution ground." He ordered his youngest boy to go and make inquiries, packing one thousand *yi*² of gold³ in sacks and loading these on an ox-cart. But as he was sending the young man off, his eldest son insisted on going instead.

When Lord Zhu would not agree, his first-born said, "The eldest son of a family is the guardian of the house. Now my brother is charged with murder, yet you want to send my younger brother instead of me—I must be a bad son!" He threatened to kill himself.

His mother put in, "Sending the youngest may still not save the second, while the eldest dies first. What use is that?"

So Lord Zhu was forced to send his eldest son. He wrote a letter to his old friend Master Zhuang and told his son, "On your arrival, leave the thousand *yi* of gold with Master Zhuang to dispose of as he thinks fit. Mind you don't argue with him!"

The eldest son set off, having added several hundred pieces of gold of his own. Upon reaching the Chu capital, he found that Master Zhuang lived in the suburb in a very humble way, his gate choked with



【原文】

金，如其父言。庄生曰：“可疾去矣，慎毋留！即弟出，勿问所以然。”长男既去，不过庄生而私留，以其私赍献遗楚国贵人用事者。

庄生虽居穷阎，然以廉直闻于国，自楚王以下皆师尊之。及朱公进金，非有意受也，欲以成事后复归之以为信耳。故金至，谓其妇曰：“此朱公之金。有如病不宿诫，后复归，勿动。”而朱公长男不知其意，以为殊无短长也。

庄生间时入见楚王，言“某星宿某，此则害于楚”。楚王素信庄生，曰：“今为奈何？”庄生曰：“独以德为可以除之。”楚

【今译】

上千镒黄金，全部遵照父亲说的去做。庄生说：“你可要赶快离去。千万不要停留！即使你二弟出来，也不要问事情缘由。”大儿子离去后，不再去拜望庄生，而私自留住，用他自己私带的黄金进献给楚国贵族执政的人。

庄生虽然居住穷乡陋室，但他因为廉洁正直而闻名全国，从楚王以下都尊他为老师。等到朱公进献黄金，他不是有意接受，而是想事成之后再归还给他，作为信物。所以黄金送来后，就告诉他的妻子说：“这是朱公的黄金。如果我突然病死了，来不及转交朱公，你事后再归还给他，不要动用。”朱公的大儿子不知他的心意，认为黄金送给他不会有特殊的作用。

庄生选择适当时机进宫拜见楚王，说“某星移到某处，这对楚国有害”。楚王平时信赖庄生，说：“现在该怎么办呢？”庄生说：“惟独实施仁德可以免除灾难。”楚王说：“先生不必再说



brambles. Still, he gave him the letter and gold as his father had told him.

"You may go straight back," said Zhuang. "Don't stay here. And if your brother is released, don't ask the reason."

The eldest son withdrew but stayed on in the city, not calling upon Zhuang but using the gold which he had brought separately to bribe a powerful noble of Chu.

Although Master Zhuang lived in a poor neighbourhood, the whole state knew that he was incorruptible and he was respected by everyone from the king downwards. He had no intention of keeping Lord Zhu's gold, but meant to return it as soon as he had succeeded. He told his wife, "This gold belongs to Lord Zhu. It is like a disease which must not be left untended overnight. Later it must be returned. Don't touch it!"

Lord Zhu's eldest son did not know this, however, but thought Zhuang rather lacking in discrimination.

Zhuang had an audience with the king of Chu and told him that a certain star in a certain quarter of the heavens boded harm to the state.

"What can be done?" asked the king, who trusted him implicitly.

"Only by doing good can you avert danger."

"Very well," said the king. "I shall take your advice." He sent a man to seal up the treasury.



【原文】

王曰：“生休矣，寡人将行之。”王乃使使者封三钱之府。楚贵人惊告朱公长男曰：“王且赦。”曰：“何以也？”曰：“每王且赦，常封三钱之府。昨暮王使使封之。”朱公长男以为赦，弟固当出也，重千金虚弃庄生，无所为也，乃复见庄生。庄生惊曰：“若不去邪？”长男曰：“固未也。初为事弟，弟今议自赦，故辞生去。”庄生知其意欲复得其金，曰：“若自入室取金。”长男即自入室取金持去，独自欢幸。

庄生羞为儿子所卖，乃入见楚王曰：“臣前言某星事，王言欲以修德报之。今臣出，道路皆言陶之富人朱公之子杀人囚楚，其

【今译】

了，我会实行仁政的。”楚王于是派使者查封贮藏三钱的府库。楚国那位接受财礼的权贵惊讶地告诉朱公的大儿子说：“国王将要大赦了。”朱公的大儿子说：“怎么见得呢？”权贵说：“每当国王将要发布赦令时，常常要封闭三钱的府库。昨天晚上国王派使者封闭了三钱府库。”朱公的大儿子认为大赦，他的二弟自然就会出狱了，他很看重白白扔给庄生的千镒黄金，毫无作用，于是又去见庄生。庄生惊讶地说：“你不是离去了吗？”朱公的大儿子说：“我根本没走。开始是为弟弟的事情来的，现今听议论说国王大赦，二弟自然在赦免之列，所以我来向先生辞行。”庄生知道他的意图，是想收回那些黄金，就说：“你自己进屋取走黄金吧。”朱公大儿子就亲自进屋取出黄金带着离去，独自欢喜庆幸。

庄生羞愧于被儿子辈出卖，就进宫拜见楚王，说：“我前次说的某星移位的事情，君王说要用施仁德的事情报答它。今天我出门，听路上的人都议论说陶地的富人朱公的儿子杀了人囚在楚



Then the noble told Lord Zhu's eldest son, "The king is going to declare an amnesty." Asked how he knew, he explained, "Before each amnesty the king always seals up the treasury. And yesterday evening he sent to seal it up."

The eldest son reflected that if there was to be an amnesty his brother would be released anyhow, and all the gold given Master Zhuang would be wasted. So he went to see Zhuang again.

"How is it you haven't left?" asked Zhuang in surprise.

"I came hoping to save my brother," was the reply. "Now that an amnesty is to be proclaimed, he will be saved in any case. So I have come to bid you goodbye."

Knowing what he wanted, Zhuang said, "Go in and take the gold."

The young man took the gold and left, very pleased with himself.

But Zhuang, annoyed at being tricked by this youth, went back to the king and said, "Last time when I spoke of the stars, sir, you decided to avert bad luck by doing good. But now it is the talk of the town that the son of wealthy Lord Zhu of Tao is in prison here for



【原文】

家多持金钱赂王左右，故王非能恤楚国而赦，乃以朱公子故也。”楚王大怒曰：“寡人虽不德耳，奈何以朱公之子故而施惠乎！”令论杀朱公子，明日遂下赦令。朱公长男竟持其弟丧归。

至，其母及邑人尽哀之，唯朱公独笑，曰：“吾固知必杀其弟也！彼非不爱其弟，顾有所不能忍者也。是少与我俱，见苦，为生难，故重弃财。至如少弟者，生而见我富，乘坚驱良逐狡兔，岂知财所从来，故轻弃之，非所惜吝。前日吾所为欲遣少子，固为其能弃财故也。而长者不能，故卒以杀其弟，事之理也，无足悲者。吾日夜固以望其丧之来也。”

【今译】

国，他家拿出许多金钱贿赂君王身边的人，所以君王不是为了体恤楚国人民而实行大赦的，是由于朱公儿子的缘故。”楚王大怒说：“我虽然没有德行，怎么会为了朱公儿子的缘故而施恩惠呢！”楚王命令判决，先杀死朱公的儿子，第二天才下达赦免令。朱公的大儿子最终带着他弟弟的尸体回家了。

长子到家后，他的母亲以及乡亲们对此事都很悲哀，只有朱公独自发笑，说：“我本来知道他一定会使弟弟被斩的，他不是不爱他的弟弟，只是因为有所不能忍心放弃的东西。他从小和我在一起，受过各种辛苦，深知谋生的艰难，所以把抛弃金钱看得很重。至于他的小弟，生下来看到的就是我的富有，乘坚固车子，骑骏马，射猎狡兔，哪里知道钱财从何处来呢，所以把舍弃金钱看得很轻，毫无吝嗑。前日我所以想派小儿子去，是由于他能够舍弃金钱的缘故。而大儿子是不能的，所以终于害了他的弟弟，这是事情的常理，没有什么值得悲伤的。我本来日日夜夜等的就是二儿子的尸体送回来。”



murder and his family has given your ministers substantial bribes. They say you are not declaring an amnesty out of the goodness of your heart but for the sake of Lord Zhu's son."

The king retorted angrily, "I may not be a good man, but I would not do such a thing just for Lord Zhu's son." He ordered the young man's execution, and a general amnesty was proclaimed the next day. So the eldest son had to take back his brother's corpse. When he reached home his mother and the rest of the household mourned. Only Lord Zhu laughed.

"I knew he would kill his brother," he declared. "Not that he did not love him, he just could not help himself. He went through hard times with me when he was young, knows how difficult it is to make a living, and therefore hates parting with money. His younger brother has never seen me as otherwise than wealthy, riding in carriages or on fine horses to hunt the hare. Because he has no idea where money comes from, he is prodigal with it and never counts the cost. That is why I wanted to send him. But the eldest is incapable of that, and so he ended up by killing his brother. This is in the nature of things, not a cause for mourning. I have been waiting day and night for his corpse to be brought back."



【原文】

故范蠡三徙，成名于天下，非苟去而已，所止必成名。卒老死于陶，故世传曰陶朱公。

太史公曰：禹之功大矣，渐九川，定九州，至于今诸夏艾安。及苗裔句践，苦身焦思，终灭强吴，北观兵中国，以尊周室，号称霸王。句践可不谓贤哉！盖有禹之遗烈焉。范蠡三迁皆有荣名，名垂后世。臣主若此，欲毋显得乎？

【今译】

所以范蠡三次迁移，闻名天下，他不是随便离去的，所到一处一定成就功名。终于老死在陶地，所以世上人相传称他陶朱公。

太史公说：禹的功劳很大呀，疏导了九条大河，安定了九州，直到今天，中原国家仍然安宁。等到他的后代句践在位时，辛勤操劳，深谋远思，终于灭掉了强大的吴国，往北向中原地区显示兵力，尊奉周王室，号称霸王。句践能不算作贤能吗！大概还有禹遗留的功业吧。范蠡三次迁移都有荣耀的名声，美名流传后世。臣子和君主能够像这样，想不显赫，可能吗？





Fan Li, who moved three times, won a great reputation throughout the land. And he never moved for nothing, but made a name for himself wherever he went. Since he grew old and finally died in Tao, he is known as Lord Zhu of Tao.

The Grand Historian comments: Great were the achievements of Yu, who opened up the Nine Rivers and divided the Nine Regions so that the descendants of Xia dwell in peace to this day. His descendant Goujian led a hard life and took anxious thought till at last he succeeded in overthrowing powerful Wu, manifesting the might of his arms to the central states, giving his support to the House of Zhou and winning the title of an Overlord. Undoubtedly he was an able king and a worthy descendant of Yu. Fan Li moved three times but won fame wherever he went, and his name is remembered by later generations. Indeed, how could such a good minister fail to win glory?

¹ 496 B.C.

² Ancient measure of weight corresponding to the modern catty.

³ Some scholars hold that the word *Jin* (gold), as it occurs in the books of the Zhou and early Han Dynasties, really means brass. Owing to the lack of conclusive proofs it is translated in this book according to its usual connotation.=Tr.



孔子世家

【原文】

孔子生鲁昌平乡陬邑。其先宋人也，曰孔防叔。防叔生伯夏，伯夏生叔梁纥。纥与颜氏女野合而生孔子，祷于尼丘得孔子。鲁襄公二十二年而孔子生。生而首上圩顶，故因名曰丘云。字仲尼，姓孔氏。

丘生而叔梁纥死，葬于防山。防山在鲁东，由是孔子疑其父墓处，母讳之也。孔子为儿嬉戏，常陈俎豆，设礼容。孔子母死，乃殡五父之衢，盖其慎也。陬人挽父之母诲孔子父墓，然后往合葬于防焉。

【今译】

孔子生于鲁国昌平乡陬邑。他的祖先是宋国人，叫孔防叔。防叔生伯夏，伯夏生叔梁纥。叔梁纥上了年纪才娶颜氏家的女儿而生孔子，孔子也是他父母到尼丘山祈祷神灵后怀孕生下的。鲁襄公二十二年（公元前551年）孔子降生。孔子生下时头顶呈中间低而四旁高的形状，所以就起名叫丘，字仲尼，姓孔。

孔丘出生不久叔梁纥死了，埋葬在防山。防山在鲁国的东部，因此孔子不知道他父亲的坟墓地址，他母亲没有把埋葬处告诉他。孔子在幼年时玩游戏，常常摆设起各种祭器，学作祭祀时的礼仪动作。孔子母亲死了，就把灵柩暂时安置在五父之衢，大概是出于慎重的作法。陬邑人挽父的母亲把孔子父亲的墓址告诉了孔子，然后孔子才把他母亲的灵柩运往防山合葬。



Confucius

Confucius was born in Zou, a village in the district of Changping in the state of Lu. His ancestors came from Song and one of them, Kong Fangshu, had a son named Boxia, whose son was Shulianghe. In his old age Shulianghe took a daughter of the Yan family, and after he had prayed at the shrine of Niqui she gave birth to Confucius. That was in the twenty-second year of Duke Xiang of Lu.¹ Because he was born with a hollow in the top of his head, he was given the personal name of Qiu, with the courtesy name Zhongni and the surname Kong.

Soon after his birth Shulianghe died and was buried at Mount Fang in the east of Lu. Later Confucius suspected that his father's grave was there, but his mother hid the truth from him. As a child, Confucius liked to play with sacrificial vessels, setting them out as if for a ceremony. After his mother's death, as a precaution, he had her coffin entombed in Wufu Lane. Then the mother of Wan Fu of Zou told him the whereabouts of his father's grave, and he had his mother buried with her husband at Mount Fang.



【原文】

孔子要经，季氏飨士，孔子与往。阳虎绌曰：“季氏飨士，非敢飨子也。”孔子由是退。

孔子年十七，鲁大夫孟釐子病且死，诫其嗣懿子曰：“孔丘，圣人之后，灭于宋。其祖弗父何始有宋而嗣让厉公。及正考父佐戴、武、宣公，三命兹益恭，故鼎铭云：‘一命而偻，再命而伋，三命而俯，循墙而走，亦莫敢余侮。饘于是，粥于是，以糊余口。’其恭如是。吾闻圣人之后，虽不当世，必有达者。今孔丘年少好礼，其达者欤？吾即没，若必师之。”及釐子卒，懿子与鲁人南宫敬叔往学礼焉。是岁，季武子卒，平子代立。

【今译】

孔子腰间系着丧孝麻绳，季氏设宴款待士人，孔子前去参加。阳虎排斥说：“季氏设宴款待士人，但没敢请你啊。”孔子因此退出。

孔子十七岁时，鲁国大夫孟釐子病重将要死去，告诫他的儿子懿子说：“孔丘是圣人的后代，他的六世祖孔父嘉被宋国杀死。他的先祖弗父何开始拥有宋国，但是他让位给弟弟厉公。等到正考父辅佐戴公、武公、宣公，三次受命越发恭谨，所以正考父庙鼎的铭文说：‘第一次受命时是躬身而受，第二次受命令时是鞠躬而受，第三次受命时是俯首而受，走路时沿着墙边走，也没有敢轻慢我的。用这个鼎做米饭，煮稀粥，来糊口度日。’他恭谨就是这样的。我听说圣人的后代，虽然不居国君的位置，但是一定有博古通今的显达的人才。如今孔丘年少好礼，难道他不就是显达的人吗？我死了以后，你一定要拜他为师。”等到釐子去世，懿子与鲁国人南宫敬叔前往孔子处学习礼仪。这年，季武子去世，平子代替即位。



Confucius was still wearing the belt of mourning when he went to a feast for gentlemen given by the Ji clan. Yang Hu turned him away, saying, "The Ji clan is entertaining gentlemen: you are not included." At that Confucius withdrew.

When Confucius was seventeen, Meng Xizi the minister of Lu fell ill and as he was dying he told his successor Yizi, "Kong Qiu is descended from sages. One of his ancestors was killed in Song. One of his ancestors, Fufuhe, should have been the ruler of Song but made over the state to his younger brother Duke Li. And Zheng Kaofu, his great-grandson who served Duke Dai, Duke Wu and Duke Xuan, behaved more modestly after each appointment. Thus his tripod inscription reads: 'At the first appointment I inclined my head, at the second I bowed, at the third I bent low. I hug the wall and no one dares insult me. Pap and gruel stay my hunger.' See how unassuming he was! I have heard that even if he does not hold office the descendant of sages is always a wise man. Kong Qiu is young, but he sets such store on the rites that I am sure he is a man of understanding. When I am gone, make him your teacher."

So after Meng Xizi's death, Yizi and Nangong Jingshu, another native of Lu, studied the rites with Confucius. That same year Ji Wuzi died and Pingzi succeeded him.

【原文】

孔子贫且贱。及长，尝为季氏史，料量平；尝为司职吏而畜蕃息。由是为司空。已而去鲁，斥乎齐，逐乎宋、卫，困于陈蔡之间，于是反鲁。孔子长九尺有六寸，人皆谓之“长人”而异之。鲁复善待，由是反鲁。

鲁南宫敬叔言鲁君曰：“请与孔子适周。”鲁君与之一乘车，两马，一竖子俱，适周问礼，盖见老子云。辞去，而老子送之曰：“吾闻富贵者送人以财，仁人者送人以言。吾不能富贵，窃仁人之号，送子以言，曰：‘聪明深察而近于死者，好议人者也。博辩广大危其身者，发人之恶者也。为人子者毋以有己，为人臣者毋以有

【今译】

孔子贫穷而且地位低下。等到他长大后，曾经作过季氏的小吏，管理仓库，出入的东西都称量得很公平；曾经做过管理畜牧的官吏，养的牲畜肥壮繁多。孔子由此作了司空。后来他离开鲁国，到了齐国遭到排斥，又受到宋国、卫国的驱逐，被困在陈国和蔡国之间，于是又返回了鲁国。孔子身高九尺六寸，人们都叫他“长人”，认为他很奇异。鲁国又很好地对待他，从此他就返回鲁国。

鲁国南宫敬叔对鲁国国君说：“请让我和孔子到周王室去。”鲁君给了他们一辆车，两匹马，一名童仆随从，到周王室请教礼仪，又拜见了老子。告辞离开时，老子送他们说：“我听说富贵的人送人时赠给财物，品德高尚的人送人时赠给良言。我不是富贵人，只能窃用品德高尚人的名号，送给您几句话吧，说：‘聪明深察的人就接近了死亡，因为他喜好议论人。博学善辩、才能广大的人就要危及自身，因为他爱揭发别人的恶处。作儿子的不要总是想到自己，作臣子的不要总是突出自己。’”孔子从周王室返回



Confucius was poor and humble. Growing up and working as keeper of the granaries for the Ji clan he measured the grain fairly; when he was keeper of the livestock the animals flourished; and so he was made minister of works. Subsequently he left Lu, was dismissed from Qi, driven out of Song and Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) and ran into trouble between Chen and Cai. Finally he returned to Lu.

Well over six feet, Confucius was called the Tall Man and everybody marvelled at his height. He returned to the state of Lu as it had treated him well. Nangong Jingshu asked the duke of Lu to let him accompany Confucius to Zhou, and the duke gave them a carriage, a pair of horses and a page boy. They went to Zhou to study rites and there met Lao Zi.

When Confucius was leaving, Lao Zi's parting words to him were, "I have heard that the rich and great offer farewell gifts of money while the good offer advice. I am neither rich nor great but, unworthy as I am, have been called good; so let me offer you a few words of advice." Then he said, "A shrewd observer, prone to criticize others, risks his own life. A learned man who exposes the faults of others endangers himself. A filial son must never thrust himself forward, and neither may a good subject."



【原文】

己。’”孔子自周反于鲁，弟子稍益进焉。

是时也，晋平公淫，六卿擅权，东伐诸侯；楚灵王兵强，陵轹中国；齐大而近于鲁。鲁小弱，附于楚则晋怒；附于晋则楚来伐；不备于齐，齐师侵鲁。

鲁昭公之二十年，而孔子盖年三十矣。齐景公与晏婴来适鲁，景公问孔子曰：“昔秦穆公國小处辟，其霸何也？”对曰：“秦，国虽小，其志大；处虽辟，行中正。身举五羖，爵之大夫，起累继之中，与语三日，授之以政。以此取之，虽王可也，其霸小矣。”景公说。

孔子年三十五，而季平子与郈昭伯以斗鸡故得罪鲁昭公，昭公

【今译】

鲁国，弟子逐渐多了起来。

这个时候，晋平公淫荡，六卿专擅政权，往东讨伐诸侯；楚灵王军队强大，欺凌践踏中原国家；齐国是大国而且靠近鲁国。鲁国弱小，依附于楚国，就激怒了晋国；鲁国归附于晋国，那么楚国就来讨伐；侍奉齐国有不周到的地方，齐国军队就来侵略鲁国。

鲁昭公二十年（公元前522年），孔子大约三十岁了。齐景公与晏婴来到鲁国，景公问孔子说：“从前秦穆公的国小又处于偏僻的地方，他是怎样称霸的呢？”孔子回答说：“秦国虽小，但志向远大；地理位置虽然偏僻，但政令非常适当正确。秦穆公亲自任用五张黑羊皮赎来的百里奚，让他做秦国大夫，把他从绳索中解脱出来，与他谈了三天，随后便把国政交给了他。用这种办法治理国家，即使统治整个天下也是可以的，他做霸主还显得小了。”景公很高兴。

孔子三十五岁时，季平子与郈昭伯因为斗鸡的缘故得罪了鲁



On his return from Zhou to Lu, Confucius began to gather more disciples.

Now the situation at this time was that Duke Ping of Jin was a dissolute man whose six ministers held the reins of government and were attacking other states in the east, King Ling of Chu was harrying the central states with his powerful armies, and mighty Qi bordered on Lu. Lu was small and weak. If she attached herself to Chu, this would offend Jin; while if she allied with Jin, Chu would attack her; if she took no defensive measures, the men of Qi would invade her.

In the twentieth year of Duke Zhao of Lu, Confucius reached the age of thirty. Duke Jing of Qi and Yan Ying visited Lu and the duke said to Confucius, "Duke Mu of Qin had only a small, outlying state, yet he became a great conqueror. How was that?"

Confucius replied, "Though Qin was small it aspired to great things. Though outlying, its conduct was correct. With five sheepskins the duke freed a slave from bondage and gave him the rank of a minister. After talking with him for three days he entrusted the affairs of state to him. Judging by this he was worthy to be a king — being a conqueror was not good enough for him."

The duke was pleased with this reply.

When Confucius was thirty-five, Ji Pingzi, because of a cockfight between a bird of his and one owned by Hou Zhaobo, offended

【原文】

率师击平子，平子与孟氏、叔孙氏三家共攻昭公，昭公师败，奔于齐，齐处昭公乾侯。其后顷之，鲁乱。孔子适齐，为高昭子家臣，欲以通乎景公。与齐太师语乐，闻《韶》音，学之，三月不知肉味，齐人称之。

景公问政孔子，孔子曰：“君君，臣臣，父父，子子。”景公曰：“善哉！信如君不君，臣不臣，父不父，子不子，虽有粟，吾岂得而食诸！”他日又复问政于孔子，孔子曰：“政在节财。”景公说，将欲以尼溪田封孔子。晏婴进曰：“夫儒者滑稽而不可轨法；倨傲自顺，不可以为下；崇丧遂哀，破产厚葬，不可以为俗；

【今译】

昭公，昭公率领军队袭击平子，平子与孟氏、叔孙氏三家共同攻打昭公，昭公军队被打败，昭公逃奔齐国，齐国让昭公居住在乾侯。此后不久，鲁国动乱了。孔子来到齐国，作为高昭子的家臣，想通过高昭子接触景公。孔子与齐太师谈论音乐，听到了《韶》乐，学习它，三个月不知品尝肉的味道，齐国人都称赞他。

景公向孔子请教政事，孔子说：“国君要尽国君的职责，臣子要尽臣子的职责，父亲要尽作父亲的职责，作儿子的要尽作儿子的职责。”景公说：“太好了！假如国君不像国君，臣子不像个臣子，父亲不像父亲，儿子不像儿子，即使有很多粮食，我哪里能够吃得着它！”另一天景公又向孔子请教政事，孔子说：“政事的关键是节用钱财。”景公很高兴，想要把尼溪的田地封给孔子。晏婴进言说：“儒学者滑稽善辩，不可用法来约束他；傲慢任性，不可以作为臣下使用他；他崇尚丧礼，追求尽哀，不惜破败家产也要举行厚葬之礼，不可让这种主张成为风气；他到处游说求取



Duke Zhao of Lu. The duke led troops against him. Ji Pingzi fought back with the support of the houses of Mengsun and Shusun and defeated the duke, who fled to Qi where he settled at Ganhou. After this there was such confusion in Lu that Confucius went to Qi to serve as Gao Zhaozi's steward in the hope of getting an introduction to Duke Jing. He discussed music with the chief musician of Qi, heard the Shao Music and studied it, and for three months did not know the taste of meat. The men of Qi thought highly of him.

Duke Jing of Qi questioned him about government. His answer was, "Let the prince be a prince, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son."

The duke rejoined, "Well said! For indeed when the prince is not a prince, the minister not a minister, the father not a father, the son not a son, even if there were grain I might be unable to eat it."

Another day he asked about government again and Confucius said, "The main thing is economy in the use of wealth."

The duke was pleased and would have given the field of Nixi to Confucius as his fief had not Yan Ying protested, "These Confucians are such unruly windbags, so arrogant and self-willed that there is no controlling them. They set great store by long mourning and bankrupt themselves for a sumptuous funeral; it would never do if this became



【原文】

游说乞贷，不可以为国。自大贤之息，周室既衰，礼乐缺有间。今孔子盛容饰，繁登降之礼，趋详之节，累世不能殫其学，当年不能究其礼。君欲用之以移齐俗，非所以先细民也。”后景公敬见孔子，不问其礼。异日，景公止孔子曰：“奉子以季氏，吾不能。”以季孟之间待之。齐大夫欲害孔子，孔子闻之。景公曰：“吾老矣，弗能用也。”孔子遂行，反乎鲁。

孔子年四十二，鲁昭公卒于乾侯，定公立。定公立五年，夏，季平子卒，桓子嗣立。季桓子穿井得土缶，中若羊，问仲尼云“得狗”。仲尼曰：“以丘所闻，羊也。丘闻之：木石之怪夔、罔阇，

【今译】

官俸，不可以用他来治理国家。从上古大贤生后，就制订了礼乐，直到周王室衰败了而礼乐也出现了残缺。现在孔子极力推崇仪容服饰，上朝下朝都有繁琐的礼节，刻意快步行走的规矩，这些繁缛的礼节恐怕几代人都不能学完的，一整年也做不完一套礼仪。您想用他的主张来改变齐国的风俗，恐怕这不适合去引导百姓。”后来，景公很恭敬地会见了孔子，但不向他请教礼仪了。另一天，景公留下孔子说：“用给季氏那样的待遇侍奉您，我做不到。”就用介于季氏、孟氏之间的待遇对待孔子。齐国大夫想加害孔子，孔子听到了风声。景公说：“我老了，不能任用您了。”孔子于是动身，返回鲁国。

孔子四十二岁时，鲁昭公在乾侯去世，定公即位。定公即位五年，夏天，季平子去世，桓子即位。季桓子凿井得到一个瓦罐，里面有一只像羊的东西，向孔子请教说“得到狗了”。仲尼说：“据我所知，是只羊。我听说：山上的怪物是单腿夔和魍魉，



the custom. A beggar who roams the land talking is not a man to entrust with affairs of state. Ever since the passing of the great sages and the decline of the Zhou Dynasty, the rites and music have fallen into decay. Now Confucius lays such stress on appearance and costume, elaborate etiquette and codes of behaviour that it would take generations to learn his rules — one lifetime would not be enough! To adopt his way of reforming the state would not be putting the common people first.”

So when next Duke Jing saw Confucius he did not question him about ceremony. And on another day he told him, “I cannot give you the rank of first minister.” He treated him as someone between the first and third rank. The other ministers of Qi conspired to injure Confucius, who learned of their plot. And Duke Jing said, “I am old, I cannot make use of your services.” So Confucius left Qi and returned to Lu.

When Confucius was forty-two, Duke Zhao of Lu died at Ganhou and Duke Ding succeeded him. In the summer of the fifth year of Duke Ding, Ji Pingzi died and Ji Huanzi took his place as first minister. While sinking a well, Ji Huanzi found an earthenware pot with a creature like a sheep inside it and, although aware of what it was, he told Confucius that it was a dog. “From all I have heard,” said Confucius, “it must be a sheep. For *ksui* and *wangliang* are the spirits of woods and

【原文】

水之怪龙、罔象，土之怪坟羊。”

吴伐越，堕会稽，得骨节专车。吴使使问仲尼：“骨何者最大？”仲尼曰：“禹致群神于会稽山，防风氏后至，禹杀而戮之，其节专车，此为大矣。”吴客曰：“谁为神？”仲尼曰：“山川之神足以纲纪天下，其守为神，社稷为公侯，皆属于王者。”客曰：“防风何守？”仲尼曰：“汪罔氏之君守封、禺之山，为釐姓。在虞、夏、商为汪罔，于周为长翟，今谓之大人。”客曰：“人长几何？”仲尼曰：“焦侥氏三尺，短之至也。长者不过十之，数之极也。”于是吴客曰：“善哉圣人！”

桓子嬖臣曰仲梁怀，与阳虎有隙。阳虎欲逐怀，公山不狃止

【今译】

水中怪物是龙和罔象，土中的怪物是雌雄未定的羊。”

吴国攻打越国，摧毁了越都会稽，得到一个具有一车身那么长的骨节架子。吴国派使者请教仲尼：“谁的骨节能这么大呢？”仲尼说：“禹把群神召集到会稽山，防风氏后到，禹杀死他并陈尸示众，他的骨节就与车子一般长，这就是最大的骨节了。”吴国客人说：“谁是那位神呢？”仲尼说：“山川的神灵能兴云致雨以利天下，奉守山川祭祀的就是神，守社稷的公侯，都隶属于王者。”吴国客人说：“防风氏守的是什么呢？”仲尼说：“是汪罔氏的君长，奉守封山、禺山的祭祀，是釐姓。在虞、夏、商各时代称为汪罔，在周初称为长翟，现在叫作大人。”吴国客人说：“人的身长有多少？”仲尼说：“焦侥氏身长三尺，是最短的。最高的人是三丈，算得上是最高的了。”于是吴国客人说：“妙啊，真是个圣人！”

桓子的宠臣叫仲梁怀，与阳虎有嫌隙。阳虎想逐出仲梁怀，



rocks, those of the deep are dragons and *wangxiang*, while those of the earth are entombed sheep."

When Wu attacked Yue and captured Kuaiji, a skeleton was discovered that filled a whole chariot. The king of Wu sent an envoy to ask Confucius, "What has the largest bones?"

Confucius replied, "When Yu² summoned all the gods to Mount Kuaiji, Fangfeng arrived late and Yu killed him as a warning to others. His skeleton filled a whole chariot: that is the largest."

"What gods were those?" asked the envoy.

"Gods of the hills and streams to regulate the world, gods who were local chiefs; and gods of earth and grain who became barons under the sovereign."

"Of what was Fangfeng in charge?"

"He was lord of Wangwang of the Xi clan, ruling over Mounts Feng and Yu. In the time of King Shun and during the Xia and Shang Dynasties, the family was called Wangwang; in the Zhou Dynasty they were known as the giants of Di; today we just call them giants."

"What height can men reach?"

"The Qiaoyao pygmies, three feet high, are the smallest. The tallest cannot be more than ten times their height: that is the upper limit."

Then the envoy of Wu commented, "Well spoken, sage!"

Ji Huanzi's favourite minister, Zhongliang Huai, was an enemy of Yang Hu, who would have driven him away had not Gongshan Buniu



【原文】

之。其秋，怀益骄，阳虎执怀。桓子怒，阳虎因囚桓子，与盟而醢之。阳虎由此益轻季氏。季氏亦僭于公室，陪臣执国政，是以鲁自大夫以下皆僭离于正道。故孔子不仕，退而修《诗》、《书》、《礼》、《乐》，弟子弥众，至自远方，莫不受业焉。

定公八年，公山不狃不得意于季氏，因阳虎为乱，欲废三桓之适，更立其庶孽阳虎素所善者，遂执季桓子。桓子诈之，得脱。定公九年，阳虎不胜，奔于齐。是时孔子年五十。

公山不狃以费畔季氏，使人召孔子。孔子循道弥久，温温无所试，莫能己用，曰：“盖周文武起丰镐而王，今费虽小，悦庶几

【今译】

公山不狃制止了他。这年秋天，仲梁怀更加骄横，阳虎捉住了仲梁怀。桓子发怒，阳虎乘机囚禁了桓子，与他订了盟约才释放桓子。阳虎从此更加轻视季氏。季氏也僭越公室的权力，大夫的家臣执掌国政，因此，鲁国从大夫以下都越取僭权，不守正道。所以孔子不做官了，退居而修订整理《诗》、《书》、《礼》、《乐》，弟子很多，来自远方的人，没有不向孔子求学的。

定公八年(公元前502年)，公山不狃不被季氏宠信，通过阳虎作乱，打算废除三桓的嫡长子，改立阳虎平时所喜欢的三桓的庶子为继承人，于是捉住了季桓子。桓子欺骗他，才得脱身。定公九年，阳虎没有取胜，投奔齐国。这时孔子五十岁了。

公山不狃凭借费城背叛季氏，派人召请孔子。孔子探索治国之道已经很长时间了，但抑郁不得志，无处试行，没有人能够任用自己，说：“周文王、周武王起于丰、镐而成就王业，现在费城虽小，或许差不多可以实行治国之道吧！”孔子打算前往。子路不

dissuaded him. That autumn Zhongliang Huai behaved even more insolently and Yang Hu had him arrested. Because Ji Huanzi was angry, Yang Hu imprisoned him too, releasing him after they had reached an agreement. This made Yang Hu despise the Ji clan more than ever. While the Ji clan usurped the duke's authority, their own servants had actual control of the state. In fact, all the men of Lu from the ministers down overstepped their rightful bounds and did not act correctly. This is why Confucius took no official post but edited the *Book of Songs*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Rites* and *Book of Music* in retirement, and more and more pupils came even from distant places to study under him.

In the eighth year of Duke Ding, Gongshan Buniu who bore a grudge against the Ji family rebelled with Yang Hu, hoping to overthrow the heirs of the three chief families and set up in their place the concubines' sons befriended by Yang Hu. Ji Huanzi was captured but contrived to escape. In the ninth year of Duke Ding, Yang Hu was defeated and fled to Qi. By now Confucius was fifty.

Then Gongshan Buniu, who controlled the district of Bi, rebelled against the Ji family and sent for Confucius. Confucius had long been following the true way without being able to put it into practice because no one would employ him. So now he said, "King Wen and King Wu of Zhou started from the districts of Feng and Hao and became kings. Though Bi is small, this may be worth trying."





【原文】

乎！”欲往。子路不说，止孔子。孔子曰：“夫召我者岂徒哉？如用我，其为东周乎！”然亦卒不行。

其后定公以孔子为中都宰，一年，四方皆则之。由中都宰为司空，由司空为大司寇。

定公十年春，及齐平。夏，齐大夫黎鉏言于景公曰：“鲁用孔丘，其势危齐。”乃使使告鲁为好会，会于夹谷。鲁定公且以乘车好往。孔子摄相事，曰：“臣闻有文事者必有武备，有武事者必有文备。古者诸侯出疆，必具官以从。请具左右司马。”定公曰：“诺。”具左右司马。会齐侯夹谷，为坛位，土阶三等，以会遇之

【今译】

高兴，阻止孔子。孔子说：“人家请我，难道白白地让我跑一趟吗？如果用我，大概周王朝的礼乐制度就会在东方实现！”可是直到最后也没有去成。

后来定公用孔子作中都宰，一年以后，各地诸侯都学习孔子治理国家的办法。孔子由中都宰升为司空，由司空升为大司寇。

定公十年（公元前500年）春天，鲁国与齐国友好。夏天，齐国大夫黎鉏对齐景公说：“鲁国任用孔丘，将来的形势会危及齐国。”于是就派使者告诉鲁国，两国举行友好会晤，会晤的地点在夹谷。鲁定公准备好车辆随从，毫无戒备地前去赴约。孔子兼理会晤事宜，说：“我听说，做文的事情一定要有武的准备，做武的事情一定要有文的准备。古代的诸侯出离国境，一定有文武两方面的官员随从。请求您让左右司马相随。”定公说：“好吧。”便命左右司马跟随前往。与齐侯在夹谷相会，修筑了盟会坛位，有三等土阶，两方以会遇的礼仪相见，拱手揖让登坛。双方献出



He was planning to go, but Zilu demurred and stopped him.

"He would not send for me without a reason," said Confucius. "By using my services he could make another Zhou in the east." However, in the end he did not go.

Later Duke Ding appointed Confucius the magistrate of Zhongdu. After one year of his administration, all the neighbouring districts were following his example. He was promoted to be minister of works, then chief justice.

In the spring of the tenth year of Duke Ding, Lu and Qi made peace. That summer Li Zu, a minister of Qi, warned Duke Jing of Qi, "Lu is employing Kong Qiu. That is dangerous for us." So they invited the duke of Lu to a friendly meeting at Jiagu. He was about to set off by carriage when Confucius, then acting prime minister, interposed, "I have heard that in peace men should prepare for war; in war they should prepare for peace, in the old days a baron never left his territory unless accompanied by military officials. I beg you to take the senior and junior war ministers."

Duke Ding agreed and took these two ministers to meet the duke of Qi at Jiagu. Seats had been placed on an earthen platform with three steps leading up to it and the two dukes met on equal terms, mounting the steps after bowing to each other. When wine had been

【原文】

礼相见，揖让而登。献酬之礼毕，齐有司趋而进曰：“请奏四方之乐。”景公曰：“诺。”于是旌旄羽被矛戟剑拔鼓噪而至。孔子趋而进，历阶而登，不尽一等，举袂而言曰：“吾两君为好会，夷狄之乐何为于此！请命有司！”有司却之，不去，则左右视晏子与景公。景公心忤，麾而去之。有顷，齐有司趋而进曰：“请奏宫中之乐。”景公曰：“诺。”优倡侏儒为戏而前。孔子趋而进，历阶而登，不尽一等，曰：“匹夫而营惑诸侯者罪当诛！请命有司！”有司加法焉，手足异处。景公惧而动，知义不若，归而大恐，告其群臣曰：“鲁以君子之道辅其君，而子独以夷狄之道教寡人，使得罪

【今译】

应酬礼品的仪式完毕后，齐国的有司快步进前说：“请求演奏四方的乐曲。”景公说：“好吧。”于是以旌旗为先导的齐国乐队上场了，他们头戴羽冠，手执被、矛、戟、剑、楯一类的武器，喧闹着来到坛上。孔子快步前进，一步一个台阶而上，还有最后一个台阶未上时，便把衣袖扬起一甩，大声说道：“我们两国君主友好相会，怎么在这里演奏起夷狄的乐曲了呢！请有司命他们下去！”有司让乐队下去，但他们不离开，而是左右看着晏子和景公的声色。景公心里惭愧不安，挥手让他们离去。过了一会儿，齐国有司快步进前说：“请求演奏宫中乐曲。”景公说：“好吧。”一群歌伎、杂技艺人和侏儒相互戏闹着前来。孔子快步前进，一步一个台阶而上，还差最后一个台阶未上时，说：“普通人来迷惑诸侯，论罪当诛！请求命令有司执行！”有司按照刑法执行，腰斩了他们，使他们身首异处。景公恐惧，受到触动，知道自己在道义上不如鲁国，回去后非常害怕，告诉他的群臣说：“鲁国是用君子的道德辅佐他们的国君，而你们却用夷狄的作法来教我，使我得



offered, Qi's master of ceremonies stepped forward to ask, "May we play the Music of the Four Quarters?"

Upon Duke Jing's assenting, men with pennants, feathers, spears, halberds, swords and shields advanced to the roll of drums. At once Confucius stepped forward, rushed up the steps and, raising his sleeves, protested, "Our two rulers are meeting in friendship: what is the meaning of this barbarian music? Let these men be dismissed by the officer in charge!" The master of ceremonies made them step back, but they did not go. The attendants looked at Yan Ying and Duke Jing, and the shamefaced duke waved them away.

Presently Qi's minister of ceremonies came forward again to ask, "May we play palace music?"

When Duke Jing assented, jesters, singers and dwarfs trooped in to perform. At once Confucius stepped forward, rushed up the steps and again protested, "Commoners who beguile their lords deserve to die. Let them be punished? Then the officer in charge had the players killed.

Aware that he had been in the wrong, Duke Jing was greatly perturbed. He returned to his capital in dismay and reproached his ministers, saying, "In Lu they use the gentleman's way to guide their prince, while all you teach me is the barbarian way. Now we have offended the duke of Lu. What shall we do?"



【原文】

于鲁君，为之奈何？”有司进对曰：“君子有过则谢以质，小人有过则谢以文。君若悼之，则谢以质。”于是齐侯乃归所侵鲁之郛、汶阳、龟阴之田以谢过。

定公十三年夏，孔子言于定公曰：“臣无藏甲，大夫毋百雉之城。”使仲由为季氏宰，将堕三都。于是叔孙氏先堕郕。季氏将堕费，公山不狃、叔孙辄率费人袭鲁。公与三子入于季氏之宫，登武子之台。费人攻之，弗克，入及公侧。孔子命申句须、乐颀下伐之，费人北。国人追之，败诸姑蔑。二子奔齐，遂堕费。将堕成，公敛处父谓孟孙曰：“堕成，齐人必至于北门。且成，孟氏之保

【今译】

罪了鲁君，这该怎么办呢？”有司上前回答说：“君子有了过失那就应该用行动向人家谢罪；小人有了过错，就用花言巧语向人家表示谢罪。您如果真的痛心，就应该用实际行动谢罪。”于是齐侯就把侵夺过来的鲁国的郛、汶阳、龟阴的田地归还给鲁国，表示谢罪。

定公十三年(公元前497年)夏天，孔子向定公建议说：“大臣不能收藏武器，大夫不能有高一丈、长三百丈的城墙。”于是派仲由作季氏的家臣，打算拆毁季孙、孟孙、叔孙三家的封邑城墙。这时叔孙氏首先拆毁郕邑的城墙。季氏将要拆毁费邑的城墙，公山不狃、叔孙辄率领费邑的人袭击鲁国。定公与季孙、孟孙、叔孙三人进入季氏的府中，登上武子的高台。费邑人攻打他们，没有取胜，有人进入了定公所在高台的侧边。孔子命令申句须、乐颀下台去攻打反叛的人，费人败逃。鲁国人追赶他们，在姑蔑城击溃他们。公山不狃、叔孙辄奔到齐国，于是拆毁费邑的城墙。将要拆毁成邑的城墙，公敛处父对孟孙说：“拆毁成邑城墙，齐国人一定到达北门。况且成邑，是孟氏的保障，没有成邑



A minister advanced to reply, "A gentleman who is at fault shows his regret by deeds, while a low man shows it by words. If you are sorry, sir, show your regret by deeds."

So to make amends the duke returned to Lu the lands of Yun, Wenyang and Guiyin which he had taken.

In the summer of the thirteenth year of Duke Ding, Confucius told him, "A subject should not conceal arms, a noble should not have city walls three thousand feet long."

Zhong You was appointed steward under Ji Huanzi, but before he could demolish the fortified towns of the three chief nobles, the Shusun family tore down the walls of Hou. When the Ji clan tried to demolish the wall of Bi, Gongshan Buniu and Shusun Zhe led the men of Bi against the Lu capital; whereupon the duke and his three noble ministers withdrew to the Ji clan mansion and took refuge in the tower of Ji Wuzi. The men of Bi attacked the tower but failed to take it. When they came near the tower, Confucius sent Shen Juxu and Le Qi to fight back and the men of Bi were put to flight by the forces of Lu at Gumie. At that Gongshan Buniu and Shusun Zhe fled to Qi and the city of Bi was demolished.

They were about to tear down the wall of Cheng when Gonglian Chufu warned Mengsun, "If Cheng is demolished, we shall have the men of Qi at our North Gate. Besides, Cheng is the bulwark of the Meng family, without which we must fall. I refuse to destroy it." In the



【原文】

郛，无成是无孟氏也。我将弗堕。”十二月，公围成，弗克。

定公十四年，孔子年五十六，由大司寇行摄相事，有喜色。门人曰：“闻君子祸至不惧，福至不喜。”孔子曰：“有是言也。不曰‘乐其以贵下人’乎？”于是诛鲁大夫乱政者少正卯。与闻国政三月，粥羔豚者弗饰贾；男女行者别于涂；涂不拾遗；四方之客至乎邑者不求有司，皆予之以归。

齐人闻而惧，曰：“孔子为政必霸，霸则吾地近焉，我之为先并矣。盍致地焉？”黎鉏曰：“请先尝沮之；沮之而不可则致地，庸迟乎！”于是选齐国中女子好者八十人，皆衣文衣而舞《康乐》，

【今译】

城墙也就没有孟氏。我不准备拆毁它。”十二月，定公围攻成邑，没有取胜。

定公十四年(公元前496年)，孔子时年五十六岁，他由大司寇代理相国政务，面有喜色。门人说：“听说君子是灾祸降临不惧怕，幸福来了无喜色。”孔子说：“有这种话。我不是还说过‘乐在地位高了能礼贤下士’吗？”这时孔子诛杀了扰乱国政的鲁国大夫少正卯。孔子参与执政三个月，卖猪羊的人没有弄虚作假哄抬价钱的；男女分路而行；丢在路上的东西没有人拾取；四方来的客人到达城邑，不用向管事的官吏们送礼恳求，都能给予他们满意的照顾，使他们皆有宾至如归之感。

齐国人听说了，很害怕，说：“孔子执政一定会称霸，他们称霸了而我国的土地离鲁国最近，我国将会最先被兼并。何不把土地送给鲁国呢？”黎鉏说：“请先试着阻止他们；阻止了而不起作用，那时再送给他们土地，难道还迟吗！”于是从齐国挑选了八十个美貌女子，都穿上漂亮衣服，学跳《康乐》舞蹈，又挑选毛色



twelfth month the duke besieged Cheng but failed to take it.

In the fourteenth year of Duke Ding, Confucius, now fifty-six, appeared gratified when he was appointed both chief justice and prime minister.

His pupils said, "We have heard that a gentleman would show no fear in the face of calamity, no joy in the face of good fortune."

"True," replied Confucius. "But what of the saying, 'He delights in high position because he can show his humility?'" He executed Shaozheng Mao, a minister of Lu who had made trouble. After three months of his administration vendors of lamb and pork stopped raising their prices, men and women walked on different sides of the street, no one picked up anything lost on the road, and strangers coming to the city did not have to look for the officers in charge for everyone made them welcome.

When the men of Qi knew this they took fright and said, "With Confucius at the head of the state, Lu is bound to grow powerful; then we who are close to it will be the first to be swallowed up. We had better offer them some land."

But Li Zu said, "Let us first see if we can't foil them. If that fails, it will not be too late to offer land."

So they chose eighty of the prettiest girls in Qi who could dance to the *kang* music, dressed them in gay costumes and sent them with sixty



【原文】

文马三十驷，遗鲁君。陈女乐文马于鲁城南高门外。季桓子微服往观再三，将受，乃语鲁君为周道游，往观终日，怠于政事。子路曰：“夫子可以行矣。”孔子曰：“鲁今且郊，如致饔乎大夫，则吾犹可以止。”桓子卒受齐女乐，三日不听政；郊，又不致饔俎于大夫。孔子遂行，宿乎屯。而师己送，曰：“夫子则非罪。”孔子曰：“吾歌可夫？”歌曰：“彼妇之口，可以出走；彼妇之谒，可以死败。盖优哉游哉，维以卒岁！”师己反，桓子曰：“孔子亦何言？”师己以实告。桓子喟然叹曰：“夫子罪我以群婢故也夫！”

孔子遂适卫，主于子路妻兄颜浊邹家。卫灵公问孔子：“居鲁得禄几何？”对曰：“奉粟六万。”卫人亦致粟六万。居顷之，或

【今译】

有光泽的骏马一百二十匹，赠送给鲁国君主。齐国把准备好的女乐彩马摆列在鲁国城南高门的外面。季桓子身穿便服前往观赏再三，想要接受，就报告鲁君说他要到各地去巡视，结果终日观赏女乐骏马，连政事也懒于过问了。子路说：“先生可以到别处去了。”孔子说：“鲁国今天将要在郊外祭祀，如果祭祀后把祭肉分给大夫，那么我还可以留下。”桓子终于接受了齐国女乐，一连三天不处理政务；郊祭后又没给大夫祭肉。孔子于是走了，当晚在屯邑过夜。师己给他送行说：“先生是没有罪过的。”孔子说：“我唱个歌可以吗？”歌辞说：“那些妇人的口，可以把大臣赶走；那些妇人的晋见，可以使你身死名裂。悠闲啊悠闲，我就这样安度一生！”师己返回，桓子说：“孔子有什么话说吗？”师己把实情告诉他。桓子喟然长叹说：“先生是怪罪我接受群婢的缘故呀！”

孔子于是到了卫国，寄住在子路妻子的兄长颜浊邹家里。卫灵公问孔子说：“居住鲁国得到多少俸禄呢？”孔子回答说：“俸米



pairs of dappled horses as a gift to the duke of Lu. The dancers were displayed with the horses outside Gao Gate in the south city, and Ji Huanzi who went in disguise several times to see them was tempted to accept. He persuaded the duke to go there by a roundabout way, and they watched all day, neglecting state affairs.

Then Zilu said, "Master, it is time to leave!"

Confucius replied, "The duke will soon be sacrificing to heaven and earth. If he presents portions of the offerings to the ministers, I can stay."

But Ji Huanzi accepted the dancers from Qi, for three days no court was held, and no meat was offered to the ministers at the sacrifice. So Confucius left, putting up for one night at Tun. Shi Yi, who had come to see him off, said, "This is not your fault, master."

Confucius retorted, "Shall I sing you a song?" And he chanted:

A woman's tongue
Can cost a man his post;
A woman's words
Can cost a man his head;
Then why not retire
To spend my last years as I please?

Upon Shi Yi's return Ji Huanzi asked, "What did Confucius say?" When told, he said with a sigh, "I've offended the master because of a pack of girls."

Confucius went to Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) and lived with Zilu's brother-in-law Yan Zhuozou. Duke Ling of Wei asked, "What stipend had Confucius in Lu?"

He was told, "Sixty thousand measures of grain."

So Wei also gave him sixty thousand measures. Later someone



【原文】

潜孔子于卫灵公。灵公使公孙余假一出一入。孔子恐获罪焉，居十月，去卫。

将适陈，过匡，颜刻为仆，以其策指之曰：“昔吾入此，由彼缺也。”匡人闻之，以为鲁之阳虎。阳虎尝暴匡人，匡人于是遂止孔子。孔子状类阳虎，拘焉五日。颜渊后，子曰：“吾以汝为死矣。”颜渊曰：“子在，回何敢死！”匡人拘孔子益急，弟子惧。孔子曰：“文王既没，文不在兹乎？天之将丧斯文也，后死者不得与于斯文也。天之未丧斯文也，匡人其如予何！”孔子使从者为宁武子臣于卫，然后得去。

去即过蒲。月余，反乎卫，主蘧伯玉家。灵公夫人有南子

【今译】

六万斗。”卫国人也给孔子六万斗米。过了几天，有人在卫灵公面前诬陷孔子。灵公让公孙余假带着武器监视孔子的进出。孔子恐怕获罪，住了十个月，就离开了卫国。

孔子将要到陈国去，经过匡城，颜刻作为仆从，用他手中的马鞭子指着匡城的城墙说：“从前进入这座城，就是由那个缺口进去的。”匡城人听见了，以为是鲁国的阳虎。阳虎曾经残害过匡城人，匡城人于是就把孔子包围起来。孔子的样子类似阳虎，把他包围了五天。颜渊后来赶到，孔子说：“我以为你死了。”颜渊说：“有先生在，颜回怎敢死呢！”匡城人包围孔子情形更加紧急，弟子们很害怕。孔子说：“文王已经死了，周王室的礼乐制度不是还存在吗？上天要毁掉这个礼乐制度，就不会让后死的人来维护这个礼乐制度了。这说明上天还没有想毁灭这个礼乐制度，匡城人又能把我怎么样呢！”孔子派随从到卫国的宁武子那里称臣，然后孔子才离开匡城。

孔子离开匡城就到了蒲乡。一个多月后，又返回卫国，居住



slandered Confucius to Duke Ling, who ordered Gongsun Yujia to set a guard over him. Then Confucius, fearing trouble, left after a stay of ten months.

He was passing Kuang on his way to Chen when Yan Ke, who was accompanying him, pointed to the city wall with his whip and said, "I got in through that gap before."

Some men of Kuang heard this and mistook Confucius for Yang Hu of Lu, who had treated them badly. They had detained him for five days because of his resemblance to Yang Hu, when Yan Hui arrived.

Confucius told him, "I thought you were dead."

Yan Hui answered, "How dare I die when you are still living, master?"

The men of Kuang now behaved in such a threatening way that the followers of Confucius were afraid. But he said, "Since King Wen is no more, who but I can be the standard-bearer of culture? If Heaven had wanted culture to disappear, I should not have possessed it after all this time. And if Heaven does not intend culture to disappear, what can the men of Kuang do to me?" He sent one of his followers to serve Ning Wuzi in Wei and was finally able to leave.

Proceeding to Pu, he returned after a month and more to Wei and

【原文】

者，使人谓孔子曰：“四方之君子不辱欲与寡君为兄弟者，必见寡小君。寡小君愿见。”孔子辞谢，不得已而见之。夫人在绡帷中。孔子入门，北面稽首。夫人自帷中再拜，环珮玉声璆然。孔子曰：“吾乡为弗见，见之礼答焉。”子路不说。孔子矢之曰：“予所不者，天厌之！天厌之！”居卫月余，灵公与夫人同车，宦者雍渠参乘，出，使孔子为次乘，招摇市过之。孔子曰：“吾未见好德如好色者也。”于是丑之，去卫，过曹。是岁，鲁定公卒。

孔子去曹适宋，与弟子习礼大树下。宋司马桓魋欲杀孔子，拔

【今译】

在蘧伯玉的家里。灵公有位叫南子的夫人，派人对孔子说：“四方的君子凡是看得起我们国君、想和我们国君结为兄弟的，一定要先拜见我们国君的夫人。夫人也愿意见您。”孔子辞谢了，后来不得已才去拜见南子夫人。夫人坐在细葛布的幔帐中等待。孔子进入夫人的房门，面向北面叩头。夫人在帐中拜了两拜，环佩玉翠叮当撞击，发出清脆的响声。孔子回来说：“我本来不想去拜见她，不得已而去拜见，就得以礼答谢她。”子路不高兴。孔子发誓说：“我如果做得有一点不对的地方，就让上天厌弃我！就让上天厌弃我！”在卫国居住一个多月后，一次灵公与夫人同乘一辆车，宦官雍渠陪坐在车右，出宫后，让孔子坐在第二辆车里，招摇过市。孔子说：“我没有见过爱好德行比得上喜爱美人的。”于是孔子认为这是很耻辱的事情，就离开卫国，去曹国了。这年，鲁定公去世。

孔子离开曹国去到宋国，在大树下与弟子们演习礼仪。宋国司马桓魋想杀死孔子，就砍倒了那棵大树。孔子只得离去。弟子



stayed with Qu Boyu. There Duke Ling's wife, Nanzi, sent Confucius this message, "When gentlemen from other lands honour our lord with their friendship, they always call on his lady. She would like to meet you." Confucius declined at first, then was forced to comply. The lady sat behind a linen curtain to receive him. Confucius, entering, faced north and bowed low. She returned his bow behind the curtain and her jade pendants tinkled.

"I did not want to go," said Confucius later, "but once there I had to conform to etiquette." Since Zilu looked displeased he made an oath: "If what I did was wrong, may Heaven punish me! May Heaven punish me!" He had been over a month in Wei when Duke Ling drove out in a carriage with his lady escorted by the eunuch Yong Qu, and with Confucius as assistant escort. In this fashion they drove openly through the streets.

Confucius commented, "I have yet to see the man who loves virtue as much as he loves feminine beauty." He left Wei in disgust for Cao. That year Duke Ding of Lu died.

From Cao Confucius went to Song. He was expounding the rites to his pupils under a great tree when Huan Tui, the war minister of

【原文】

其树。孔子去。弟子曰：“可以速矣。”孔子曰：“天生德于予，桓魋其如予何！”

孔子适郑，与弟子相失，孔子独立郭东门。郑人或谓子贡曰：“东门有人，其颡似尧，其项类皋陶，其肩类子产，然自要以下不及禹三寸，累累若丧家之狗。”子贡以实告孔子。孔子欣然笑曰：“形状，末也。而谓似丧家之狗，然哉！然哉！”

孔子遂至陈，主于司城贞子家。岁余，吴王夫差伐陈，取三邑而去。赵鞅伐朝歌。楚围蔡，蔡迁于吴。吴败越王句践会稽。

有隼集于陈廷而死，桡矢贯之，石砮，矢长尺有咫。陈湣公使使问仲尼。仲尼曰：“隼来远矣，此肃慎之矢也。昔武王克商，通

【今译】

说：“应该快速离开。”孔子说：“上天赋予我传播道德的使命，桓魋能把我怎样呢！”

孔子来到郑国，与弟子们走散了，孔子独自一个人站在外城的东门下。郑国人有的告诉子贡说：“东门有个人，他的前额像尧，他的脖颈像皋陶，他的肩像子产，从腰部以下比禹矮三寸，垂头丧气的样子就像个丧家之犬。”子贡如实告诉了孔子。孔子欣然笑着说：“他描绘我的形状，不一定对。但他说我类似丧家之犬，倒是对极了！对极了！”

孔子于是来到陈国，居住在司城贞子的家里。过了一年多，吴王夫差攻打陈国，夺取三个城邑后离去。赵鞅攻打朝歌。楚国围攻蔡国，蔡国迁移到吴地。吴国在会稽山打败越王句践。

有一只鸛鸟落在陈国宫廷上死去，有桡木做的箭穿在它身上，箭头是石制的，箭身長一尺八寸。陈湣公派人请教孔子。孔子说：“鸛鸟是从很远的地方飞来的，这是肃慎部族的箭。从前武



Song who wanted to kill him, sent men to fell the tree. Confucius withdrew, and his disciples urged, "Let us hurry away!"

But Confucius said, "Heaven has implanted virtue in me. What can men like Huan Tui do to me?"

Going on to Zheng, Confucius was separated from his followers. He was standing alone at the East Gate when a citizen of Zheng remarked to Zigong, "There is a man at the East Gate with a forehead like Yao, a neck like Gao Tao and shoulders like Zichan, and just three inches shorter below the waist than Yu. Lost as a stray dog he looks!"

When this was repeated to Confucius, he chuckled. "The appearance is unimportant," he said. "But it's true that I'm like a stray dog. That is certainly true!"

Confucius proceeded to Chen and stayed with Sicheng Zhenzi for a year and more. Then King Fucha of Wu attacked Chen and took three towns. Zhao Yang attacked Chaoge. The army of Chu invaded Cai and the capital of Cai was moved to Wu. The forces of Wu defeated King Goujian of Yue at Kuaiji.

A falcon fell dead in the court of Chen, shot by a thorn arrow eighteen inches long with an arrowhead of stone. Duke Min of Chen was sent to consult Confucius, who said, "This falcon has come a long way. The arrow belongs to the Churchens. When King Wu conquered



【原文】

道九夷百蛮，使各以其方贿来贡，使无忘职业。于是肃慎贡楛矢石砮，长尺有咫。先王欲昭其令德，以肃慎矢分大姬，配虞胡公而封诸陈。分同姓以珍玉，展亲；分异姓以远方职，使无忘服。故分陈以肃慎矢。”试求之故府，果得之。

孔子居陈三岁，会晋楚争强，更伐陈，及吴侵陈，陈常被寇。孔子曰：“归与归与！吾党之小子狂简，进取不忘其初。”于是孔子去陈。

过蒲，会公叔氏以蒲畔，蒲人止孔子。弟子有公良孺者，以私车五乘从孔子。其为人长贤，有勇力，谓曰：“吾昔从夫子遇难于

【今译】

王攻克商纣，与各民族进行交往，使各地民族把自己地方的特产作为礼品向周王朝进贡，让他们不忘记自己的职责和义务。于是肃慎部族进贡楛木做的箭和石制的箭头，箭身長一尺八寸。先王想宣扬周王朝臣服远方民族的美德，把肃慎部族的箭分给武王长女大姬，把她许配给虞胡公而封在陈地。当时周王室把珍宝玉器分赠给同姓诸侯，表示亲近；把远方的贡品分赠给异姓诸侯，使他们不忘记服从王命。所以分赠陈国用的是肃慎的箭。”陈湣公派人去旧府库试着寻求，果然找到了楛木箭。

孔子在陈国住了三年，正赶上晋国、楚国争霸，轮番攻打陈国，等到吴国入侵陈国，陈国经常遭受侵略。孔子说：“回去吧，回去吧！我的这些弟子中有人志向远大而于事疏略，有进取心而不忘他的初衷。”于是孔子离开了陈国。

孔子经过蒲乡时，正遇上公叔氏以蒲乡反叛，蒲人包围了孔子。孔子弟子中有位名叫公良孺的，自己带了五辆车子追随孔子。他的身材高大，贤能，有勇力，对孔子说：“我从前随从先生



the Shangs he opened up communications with all the eastern and southern barbarians, ordering them to send in their local products as tribute and not to fail in this duty. The Churchens used to send thorn arrows with stone arrowheads like this, eighteen inches long. And to make known his glory and virtue, the king gave these arrows with the fief of Chen to his eldest daughter when she married Duke Hu of Yu. Precious jade was distributed among his kinsmen to strengthen their bonds, and other clans were given tribute from distant parts that they might not forget their allegiance. This is how these Churchen arrows were given to Chen." The duke looked in the old treasury and actually found similar arrows there.

During the three years Confucius spent in Chen, the state was invaded again and again, now by Jin, now by Chu, in their contest for supremacy, and also by Wu.

"Let us return!" cried Confucius. "Let us return! We may be ambitious, reckless fellows, but in our quest we do not forget our origin." With that he left Chen.

Gongshu rebelled in Pu while Confucius was passing through, and the men of Pu detained him. Among his disciples was a certain Gongliang Ru who had accompanied him with five of his own chariots. A tall and enormously strong man, he said, "I was with the master



【原文】

匡，今又遇难于此，命也已。吾与夫子再罹难，宁斗而死。”斗甚疾。蒲人惧，谓孔子曰：“苟毋适卫，吾出子。”与之盟，出孔子东门。孔子遂适卫。子贡曰：“盟可负邪？”孔子曰：“要盟也，神不听。”

卫灵公闻孔子来，喜，郊迎。问曰：“蒲可伐乎？”对曰：“可。”灵公曰：“吾大夫以为不可。今蒲，卫之所以待晋楚也，以卫伐之，无乃不可乎？”孔子曰：“其男子有死之志，妇人有保西河之志。吾所伐者不过四五人。”灵公曰：“善。”然不伐蒲。

灵公老，怠于政，不用孔子。孔子喟然叹曰：“苟有用我者，期月而已，三年有成。”孔子行。

【今译】

在匡城遇难，今天又在这里遇难，这是命里注定的吧。我与先生再次遇到灾难，宁愿战斗而死。”战斗非常激烈。蒲乡人惧怕，对孔子说：“如果你不去卫国，我们会放你们走。”孔子与蒲乡人盟誓，他们送孔子出东门。孔子于是到了卫国。子贡说：“盟约可以背叛吗？”孔子说：“用要挟手段订的盟约，神灵是不认可的。”

卫灵公听说孔子来到，很高兴，到郊外迎接。向孔子询问说：“蒲乡可以讨伐吗？”孔子回答说：“可以。”灵公说：“我的大臣认为不可以讨伐。现在蒲乡是卫国防御晋国、楚国的屏障，用卫国军队去攻打它，大概是不可以的吧？”孔子说：“那里的男子有以死效忠卫国的志向，妇女有保卫西河地区的心意。我所说要攻伐的只不过是四五个人罢了。”灵公说：“好吧。”可是没有讨伐蒲乡。

灵公年老了，疏于政务，不任用孔子了。孔子喟然叹息说：“如果任用我，一年见效，三年会有大的成功。”孔子离开了卫国。



when we ran into trouble in Kuang, and here we are in trouble again. Well, this must be fate and at least I can die fighting."

He put up such a fight that the men of Pu were afraid and told Confucius, "If you don't go to Wei, you may leave."

He gave them his word and they let him out through the East Gate. He still proceeded to Wei and Zigong asked, "Is it right to break your word?"

Confucius replied, "I gave it under pressure: the gods will not count it."

Delighted to hear that Confucius was back, Duke Ling of Wei welcomed him outside the city and asked, "Can we attack Pu?"

Confucius answered, "Yes."

The duke said, "My ministers are against it because Pu is a buffer between us and Jin and Chu. Does that not make it wrong to attack it?"

Confucius said, "The men there are ready to die for our state and the women are determined to defend Xihe. We shall only punish a handful of rebels."

The duke approved but did not attack in the end. Since Duke Ling was old and had lost interest in state affairs, he did not give office to Confucius.

Confucius sighed and said, "To be in office for just one year would satisfy me. In three years real results would show." After that he left.



【原文】

佛肸为中牟宰。赵简子攻范、中行，伐中牟。佛肸畔，使人召孔子。孔子欲往。子路曰：“由闻诸夫子，‘其身亲为不善者，君子不入也’。今佛肸亲以中牟畔，子欲往，如之何？”孔子曰：“有是言也。不曰坚乎，磨而不磷；不曰白乎，涅而不淄。我岂匏瓜也哉，焉能系而不食？”

孔子击磬。有荷蓑而过门者，曰：“有心哉，击磬乎！硤硤乎，莫己知也夫而已矣！”

孔子学鼓琴师襄子，十日不进。师襄子曰：“可以益矣。”孔子曰：“丘已习其曲矣，未得其数也。”有间，曰：“已习其数，可以益矣。”孔子曰：“丘未得其志也。”有间，曰：“已习其志，可

【今译】

佛肸作了中牟的长官。赵简子攻打范氏、中行氏，讨伐中牟。佛肸背叛，派人召孔子。孔子想前往。子路说：“我从先生那里听说，‘亲身做坏事的，君子是不进入他那里的’。现在佛肸亲自以中牟背叛，您要前往，这该怎么解释呢？”孔子说：“是有这样的话。我不也说过，坚硬的东西，磨而不薄；不也说过洁白的东西，是染不黑的。我难道是匏瓜吗，怎能永远系挂在一处而不被吃呢？”

孔子正敲击着磬。有位背着草蓑的人从门前经过，说：“真是有心思啊，这位击磬的人！如此固执，既然没有人赏识你，那就算了吧！”

孔子向师襄子学习弹琴，十天不再学习新的东西，只是温习已学过的。师襄子说：“可以增学新的东西了。”孔子说：“我已经学会了那些曲子，但还没有掌握那些弹奏曲子的技法。”过了一段时间，师襄子说：“你已经掌握弹琴的技法了，可以学习新的曲子了。”孔子说：“我还没有悟到曲子里的情志。”又过了一段



Bi Xi was then the steward of Zhongmou. When Jianzi of the Zhao clan attacked the Fan and Zhonghang clans he struck at Zhongmou too, and Bi Xi rebelled. He sent for Confucius, who was willing to join him.

But Zilu protested, "I have heard you say, master, 'A gentleman will not enter the house of an evil-doer.' How can you think of going to Bi Xi who has rebelled in Zhongmou?"

"True," replied Confucius. "But is there not also a saying, 'Too hard to be ground thin, too white to be dyed black'? Am I a gourd to hang here and never be eaten?"

One day Confucius was playing the chimes when a man with a wicker crate passed the door and said, "Poor fellow, playing the chimes! He is self-willed but does not know himself. It is useless to talk with him."

Confucius practised playing the lute for ten days without attempting anything new. Shi Xiang, his tutor, said, "You can go ahead now."

"I have learned the tune but not the technique," said Confucius.

After some time Shi Xiang said, "You have mastered the measure now, you can go on."

But Confucius replied, "I have not yet caught the spirit."

【原文】

以益矣。”孔子曰：“丘未得其为人也。”有间，有所穆然深思焉，有所怡然高望而远志焉。曰：“丘得其为人，黯然而黑，几然而长，眼如望羊，如王四国，非文王其谁能为此也！”师襄子辟席再拜，曰：“师盖云《文王操》也。”

孔子既不得用于卫，将西见赵简子。至于河而闻窦鸣犊、舜华之死也，临河而叹曰：“美哉水，洋洋乎！丘之不济此，命也夫！”子贡趋而进曰：“敢问何谓也？”孔子曰：“窦鸣犊、舜华，晋国之贤大夫也。赵简子未得志之时，须此两人而后从政；及其已得志，杀之乃从政。丘闻之也，刳胎杀夭则麒麟不至郊，竭泽涸渔

【今译】

时间，师襄子说：“已经了解了曲子的情志，可以学习新曲子了。”孔子说：“我还没有领会作者的为人。”又过了一段时间，孔子很恭敬地深思着什么，继而欣然喜悦，志向高远。他说：“我知道他的为人了：黑黑的皮肤，高高的个子，眼睛好像汪洋大海，胸襟好像要包容天下，统治四方诸侯，不是周文王，谁能是这样呢！”师襄子离开座席，拜了又拜，说：“我的老师说过，这首琴曲是《文王操》。”

孔子既然不能被卫国任用，要西去拜见赵简子。到达黄河，听见窦鸣犊、舜华被杀死的消息，面对黄河而叹息说：“壮美的黄河水呀，汪洋浩荡呀！我不能渡过这条河水，这就是命运吧！”子贡快步走进前说：“我冒昧地问一句，这是什么意思？”孔子说：“窦鸣犊、舜华，是晋国的贤德大夫。赵简子未得志的时候，是依仗这两个人而后掌管政权的；等到他得志后，就杀死他们而仍然掌管政权。我听说过，剖腹取胎，杀死幼小动物，那么麒麟就不会来到那个国的郊外；汲干池水而捉鱼，那么蛟龙就不会调合阴



Some time later the other said, "Now you have caught the spirit, you can go on."

"I cannot yet visualize the man behind it," answered Confucius. Later he observed, "This is the work of a man who thought deeply and seriously, one who saw far ahead and had a calm, lofty outlook." He continued, "I see him now. He is dark and tall, with far-seeing eyes that seem to command all the kingdoms around. No one but King Wen could have composed this music."

Shi Xiang rose from his seat and bowed as he rejoined, "Yes, this is the *Lute-song of King Wen*."

Since Confucius had not been employed in Wei, he decided to go west to see Zhao Jianzi. But upon reaching the Yellow River he received news of the death of Dou Mingdu and Shun Hua and, facing the water, said with a sigh, "A grand sweep of water! But I am not fated to cross it."

Zigong stepped forward to ask, "What do you mean?"

Confucius replied, "Dou Mingdu and Shun Hua were good ministers of Jin. Before Zhao Jianzi rose to power he insisted on having these men before he would join the government; but now that he is in power he has killed them. I have heard that when you destroy unborn animals or kill young game, the unicorn will not come to the countryside; when you dredge and empty the ponds while fishing, the dragon will

【原文】

则蛟龙不合阴阳，覆巢毁卵则凤皇不翔。何则？君子讳伤其类也。夫鸟兽之于不义也尚知辟之，而况乎丘哉！”乃还息乎陬乡，作为《陬操》以哀之。而反乎卫，入主蘧伯玉家。

他日，灵公问兵陈。孔子曰：“俎豆之事则尝闻之，军旅之事未之学也。”明日，与孔子语，见蜚雁，仰视之，色不在孔子。孔子遂行，复如陈。

夏，卫灵公卒，立孙辄，是为卫出公。六月，赵鞅内太子蒯聩于戚。阳虎使太子纁，八人衰经，伪自卫迎者，哭而入，遂居焉。冬，蔡迁于州来。是岁鲁哀公三年，而孔子年六十矣。齐助卫围戚，以卫太子蒯聩在故也。

【今译】

阳兴云致雨了；倾覆鸟巢毁坏鸟卵，那么凤凰就不会往这里飞翔。为什么呢？君子忌讳杀死他的同类。鸟兽对那些不义的行为尚知躲避，何况我呢！”于是回到陬乡休养，作琴曲《陬操》，表示哀悼。他们返回卫国，进入蘧伯玉家中居住。

另一天，灵公请教军队摆阵列队事宜。孔子说：“祭祀的事情我曾经听说过，军队作战的事宜我从未学过。”第二天，灵公和孔子交谈，看见飞雁，抬头观看，灵公的注意力不在孔子身上。孔子于是离去，又到了陈国。

夏天，卫灵公去世，拥立灵公的孙子辄为国君，这就是卫出公。六月，赵鞅把卫太子蒯聩接纳到卫国的戚邑。阳虎让太子蒯聩身穿孝服，又派八人披麻戴孝，假装从卫都来迎接太子的人，哭着进了戚邑，就在那里住了下来。冬天，蔡国迁都到州来。这年是鲁哀公三年，孔子时年六十岁了。齐国帮助卫国围攻戚邑，由于卫太子蒯聩在那里的缘故。



not harmonize the *yin* and *yang*,³ when you upset a nest and destroy the eggs, the phoenix will not hover nearby. It follows that a gentleman must take offence if one of his kind is injured. If the very birds and beasts shun the unjust, how much more must I!"

He went back to stay in the village of Zou, where he composed the *Lute-song of Zou* to mourn the two men. Then, returning to Wei, he became the guest of Qu Boyu.

Some time later, Duke Ling consulted him about warfare. "I know something about sacrificial vessels," said Confucius, "but have never studied military science." The next day during a conversation with him, the duke saw some wild geese in the sky and looked up at them, ignoring the sage. So Confucius went back to Chen.

That summer Duke Ling of Wei died and his grandson Zhe succeeded him as Duke Chu. In the sixth month Zhao Yang sent the crown prince, Kuai Kui, to the town of Qi. Yang Hu dressed the prince in deep mourning and made eight other mourners, ostensibly from Wei, welcome him with tears into the town. And there he stayed. That winter Cai's capital was moved to Zhoulai. This was the third year of Duke Ai of Lu, when Confucius was sixty years old. Qi helped Wei to besiege the town of Qi because the crown prince was there.

【原文】

夏，鲁桓釐庙燔，南宫敬叔救火。孔子在陈，闻之，曰：“灾必于桓釐庙乎？”已而果然。

秋，季桓子病，辇而见鲁城，喟然叹曰：“昔此国几兴矣，以吾获罪于孔子，故不兴也。”顾谓其嗣康子曰：“我即死，若必相鲁；相鲁，必召仲尼。”后数日，桓子卒，康子代立。已葬，欲召仲尼。公之鱼曰：“昔吾先君用之不终，终为诸侯笑。今又用之，不能终，是再为诸侯笑。”康子曰：“则谁召而可？”曰：“必召冉求。”于是使使召冉求。冉求将行，孔子曰：“鲁人召求，非小用之，将大用之也。”是日，孔子曰：“归乎归乎！吾党之小子狂

【今译】

夏天，鲁国桓公、釐公的宗庙起火，南宫敬叔去救火。孔子正在陈国，听说了，说：“火灾一定是发生在桓公、釐公的宗庙里吧？”后来果然得到了证实。

秋天，季桓子病重，乘着辇看见了鲁国城池，喟然叹息说：“从前这个国家，几乎兴盛起来，因为我得罪了孔子，所以没有兴盛起来。”他回过头又对自己的继承人康子说：“我死了，你一定会做鲁国相国；做了相国，一定要召回仲尼。”后来过了几天，桓子去世，康子接替桓子的爵位。把桓子安葬后，想召回仲尼。公之鱼说：“从前我们先君任用他没有善始善终，到头来被诸侯讥笑。如今又要任用他，如果再不能善始善终，将会再次被诸侯笑话的。”康子说：“那么召请谁可以呢？”公之鱼说：“一定召请冉求。”于是康子派使者去召请冉求。冉求打算前往，孔子说：“鲁国人召请冉求，不是小用，将要大用的。”这天，孔子说：“回去吧，回去吧！我的这些弟子心志远大而做事简略，虽然都很富于文



That summer a fire broke out in the temples of Duke Huan and Duke Xi of Lu, and Nangong Jingshu put it out. Confucius, then in Chen, heard of this conflagration and said, "It was probably in the temples of Duke Huan and Duke Xi." And he was proved correct.

That autumn Ji Huanzi fell ill. Driven in his carriage to the city wall of Lu, he said with a sigh, "This state could have become great if I had not offended Confucius." Then turning to his heir Ji Kangzi, he said, "Once I am dead you will become prime minister of Lu. When that happens, you must ask Confucius to come back."

A few days later he died and Ji Kangzi succeeded him. After the funeral the new prime minister wanted to recall Confucius, but Gongzhi Yu said, "Our former lord lost faith in him in the end, so that other states laughed at us. If we have him back and find we cannot put his ideas into practice, we shall only make ourselves ridiculous again."

"In that case, whom shall we get?"

"Recall Ran Qiu."

So Ji Kangzi sent for Ran Qiu.

When Ran Qiu was leaving, Confucius said, "The men of Lu cannot be recalling Ran Qiu for any small task, but must mean to entrust important work to him." Later that day he exclaimed, "Let us return! Let us return! My pupils aspire to great things. But although they have



【原文】

简，斐然成章，吾不知所以裁之。”子赣知孔子思归，送冉求，因诫曰“即用，以孔子为招”云。

冉求既去，明年，孔子自陈迁于蔡。蔡昭公将如吴，吴召之也。前昭公欺其臣迁州来，后将往，大夫惧复迁，公孙翩射杀昭公。楚侵蔡。秋，齐景公卒。

明年，孔子自蔡如叶。叶公问政，孔子曰：“政在来远附迩。”他日，叶公问孔子于子路，子路不对。孔子闻之，曰：“由，尔何不对曰‘其为人也，学道不倦，诲人不厌，发愤忘食，乐以忘忧，不知老之将至’云尔。”

去叶，反于蔡。长沮、桀溺耦而耕，孔子以为隐者，使子路问

【今译】

采，‘但我不知道从何处入手教育他们才好。’子赣知道孔子想回鲁国，在送冉求的时候，乘机告诫说了“你要是受到重用，一定要把孔子请回去”等一些话。

冉求离去以后，第二年，孔子从陈国迁移到蔡国。蔡昭公打算到吴国去，吴国召请他。前次昭公欺骗他的大臣迁都到州来，这次将要前往，大夫们惧怕再迁都，公孙翩射杀昭公。楚国侵犯蔡国。秋天，齐景公去世。

第二年，孔子从蔡国到了叶地。叶公请教政务，孔子说：“政务就是在于使远方的贤人来投奔，使近处的人归附。”另一天，叶公向子路询问有关孔子的情况，子路没有回答。孔子听说了，说：“仲由，你怎么不这样回答他说‘他这个人，学习道理不知疲倦，教诲别人不知厌烦，发起愤来忘记吃饭，快乐时忘记忧愁，不知道衰老就要到了’的话呢。”

孔子离开叶地，返回蔡国。遇见长沮、桀溺并肩而耕，孔子



certain elegant accomplishments, I do not know how to educate them properly.”

Zigong knew that Confucius longed to return to Lu, so while seeing Ran Qiu off he said, “If you are in power, make sure the master is recalled.”

The year following Ran Qiu’s departure, Confucius moved from Chen to Cai. Duke Zhao of Cai decided to go to Wu after receiving a summons from that state. As the duke had already moved the capital to Zhoulai without consulting his ministers, now that he wanted to go to Wu they feared he might move the capital again, and Gongsun Pian shot and killed him. Chu invaded Cai. That autumn Duke Jing of Qi died.

The next year Confucius went from Cai to Ye. Asked about government by the duke of Ye, he replied, “The art lies in attracting the people from far away and winning the hearts of those close by.”

Another time the duke of Ye asked Zilu his opinion of his master, but Zilu did not reply. When Confucius heard this he said, “Why didn’t you tell him, ‘He is a man who never wearies of studying the truth, never tires of teaching others, but who in his eagerness forgets his hunger and in his joy forgets his bitter lot, not worrying that old age is creeping on?’”

On the road from Ye to Cai they met Changju and Jieni ploughing together. Taking them for recluses, Confucius told Zilu to ask them the



【原文】

津焉。长沮曰：“彼执舆者为谁？”子路曰：“为孔丘。”曰：“是鲁孔丘与？”曰：“然。”曰：“是知津矣。”桀溺谓子路曰：“子为谁？”曰：“为仲由。”曰：“子，孔丘之徒与？”曰：“然。”桀溺曰：“悠悠者天下皆是也，而谁以易之？且与其从辟人之士，岂若从辟世之士哉！”耒而不辍。子路以告孔子，孔子怃然曰：“鸟兽不可与同群。天下有道，丘不与易也。”

他日，子路行，遇荷丈人，曰：“子见夫子乎？”丈人曰：“四体不勤，五谷不分，孰为夫子！”植其杖而芸。子路以告，孔子曰：“隐者也。”复往，则亡。

【今译】

以为他们是隐居之士，派子路向他们打听渡口处。长沮说：“那个拉着马缰绳的人是谁？”子路说：“是孔丘。”长沮说：“是鲁国的孔丘吗？”子路说：“对。”长沮说：“他应该知道渡口在哪里。”桀溺对子路说：“你是谁？”子路回答说：“我是仲由。”桀溺说：“你是孔丘的徒弟吗？”子路回答说：“是的。”桀溺说：“悠悠的天下到处都处于动荡不安的局面，有谁能够改变它呢？况且与其跟随躲避暴君乱臣的人，哪如跟随躲避乱世的人呢！”说完，他们又耕作起来，不告诉子路渡口在哪里。子路如实向孔子报告了，孔子茫然自失地说：“我们是不可以与鸟兽同群的。如果天下是有道的话，我就不用去改变它了。”

又一天，子路行走，遇见一位扛着锄草工具的老人，问他说：“您见到我的老师了吗？”老人说：“四体不勤，五谷不分，谁是你的老师！”说完，把他的拐杖插在土中就除起草来。子路把老人的话告诉了孔子，孔子说：“这是位隐居的贤士。”子路又前去寻找老人，老人已不在了。



way to the ford.

"Who is the man holding the reins of your carriage?" asked Changju.

Zilu answered, "That is Kong Qiu."

"You mean Kong Qiu of Lu?"

"That's right," said Zilu.

"He should know where the ford is then," retorted Changju.

Then Jieni asked Zilu, "And who are you?"

He answered, "My name is Zhong Yu."

"Are you a disciple of Kong Qiu?"

"Yes, I am."

"The whole world goes its way and who is to change it?" asked Jieni. "Better, surely, to follow those who shun the world than one who only shuns certain men?"

With that they went on covering the seed.

Zilu returned and told Confucius, who commented ruefully, "Birds and beasts are no company for men. If the world were on the right path I should not try to change it."

Another day on the road Zilu met an old man carrying a hoe and asked him, "Sir, have you seen my master?"

The old man retorted, "You who never use your four limbs, who don't know the difference between the five grains — who is your master?" Planting his staff in the ground, he started weeding.

Zilu went and told Confucius, who said, "He must be a recluse." They went back to find him but he had disappeared.



【原文】

孔子迁于蔡三岁，吴伐陈。楚救陈，军于城父。闻孔子在陈蔡之间，楚使人聘孔子。孔子将往拜礼，陈蔡大夫谋曰：“孔子贤者，所刺讥皆中诸侯之疾。今者久留陈蔡之间，诸大夫所设行皆非仲尼之意。今楚，大国也，来聘孔子。孔子用于楚，则陈蔡用事大夫危矣。”于是乃相与发徒役围孔子于野。不得行，绝粮。从者病，莫能兴。孔子讲诵弦歌不衰。子路愠见曰：“君子亦有穷乎？”孔子曰：“君子固穷，小人穷斯滥矣。”

子贡色作。孔子曰：“赐，尔以予为多学而识之者与？”曰：“然。非与？”孔子曰：“非也。予一以贯之。”

【今译】

孔子迁居到蔡国三年，吴国攻打陈国。楚国救援陈国，在城父驻军。听说孔子来往于陈国、蔡国之间，楚国就派人去聘请孔子。孔子要前去拜见答礼，陈国和蔡国的大夫商议说：“孔子贤能，他所讥刺的都切中了诸侯的弊病。现今长久地居住在陈、蔡之间，众位大夫所采用的措施行为都不合仲尼的主张。现今楚国是个大国，前来聘请孔子。孔子被楚国任用，那么陈国、蔡国掌权的大夫就危险了。”于是他们双方发动服劳役的人在野外把孔子围困起来。孔子不能够前行，断绝了粮食。随从人员都饿病了，没有一人能起来。孔子讲诵诗、弹琴歌唱不停止。子路满腹牢骚地说：“君子也有穷困的时候吗？”孔子说：“君子在穷困的时候能够坚守节操，而小人遭遇困窘就会乱做胡行了。”

子贡的脸上变了色。孔子说：“赐啊，你以为我是学的很多而博闻强记的人吗？”子贡说：“是的。难道不是吗？”孔子说：“不对。我是用一个基本的道理贯穿在所有事物之中。”



When Confucius had spent three years in Cai, Wu attacked Chen and Chu sent troops which were stationed at Chengfu to Chen's assistance. Learning that Confucius was living between Chen and Cai, the men of Chu sent him an invitation. Before he could accept it, however, the ministers of Chen and Cai discussed the matter and said, "Confucius is an able man who has laid his finger unerringly on the abuses in every state. He has spent a considerable time between Chen and Cai and disapproves of all our measures and policies. Now powerful Chu has sent for him. If he serves Chu, so much the worse for us!" They sent men to surround Confucius in the countryside, so that he could not leave. His supplies ran out, his followers were too weak to move, but Confucius went on teaching and singing, accompanying himself on the lute.

Zilu went to him and asked indignantly, "Does a gentleman have to put up with privation?"

"A gentleman can stand privation," answered Confucius. "A mean man exposed to privation is prone to do wrong."

As Zigong looked displeased, Confucius asked him, "Do you think me a learned, well-read man?"

"Certainly," replied Zigong. "Aren't you?"

"Not at all," said Confucius. "I have simply grasped one thread which links up the rest."



【原文】

孔子知弟子有愠心，乃召子路而问曰：“《诗》云‘匪兕匪虎，率彼旷野’。吾道非邪？吾何为于此？”子路曰：“意者吾未仁邪？人之不我信也。意者吾未知邪？人之不我行也。”孔子曰：“有是乎！由，譬使仁者而必信，安有伯夷、叔齐？使知者而必行，安有王子比干？”

子路出，子贡入见。孔子曰：“赐，《诗》云‘匪兕匪虎，率彼旷野’。吾道非邪？吾何为于此？”子贡曰：“夫子之道至大也，故天下莫能容夫子。夫子盖少贬焉？”孔子曰：“赐，良农能稼而不能为穡，良工能巧而不能为顺。君子能修其道，纲而纪之，统而

【今译】

孔子知道弟子有怨恨不满之心，于是召见子路而问他说：“《诗经》上说‘不是犀牛不是老虎，而徘徊在旷野之中’。我的主张不对吗？我为什么落到这种地步呢？”子路说：“看来我们施仁德还不够吧？人们不信任我们。要不就是我们的智慧还不够吧？所以人们不放我们走。”孔子说：“有这种情况吧！仲由，假使仁德的人一定得到人们的信赖，哪里会有伯夷、叔齐饿死的故事发生呢？假使有智慧的人处处行得通，怎么会有王子比干被剖心的事情呢？”

子路出去了，子贡进去拜见。孔子说：“赐啊，《诗经》说‘不是犀牛不是老虎，它徘徊在旷野之中’。我的主张没有错吧？我为什么落到这种地步？”子贡说：“先生的主张太伟大了，所以天下人没有谁能够理解接受先生的主张。先生何不把您的主张降低一点呢？”孔子说：“赐啊，一个好的农民能够种植庄稼，却不能保证丰收；一位好的工匠能有巧妙的手艺，但他不能使每个产品都顺心如意。君子能够提出他的治国之道，按照法度原则执掌政权，统筹国家，治理社会，但是他不能使所有的人都支持接受



Knowing that his disciples were in low spirits, Confucius called Zilu and said to him, "The old song runs: 'I am neither rhinoceros nor tiger, yet I go to the wilderness.' Is our way wrong? Is that why we have come to this?"

"Maybe we lack humanity and therefore men do not trust us," replied Zilu. "Or perhaps we are not intelligent enough for them to follow our way."

"Do you really think so?" countered Confucius. "If the humane were always trusted, how do you account for what happened to Bo Yi and Shu Qi?⁴ If the intelligent always had their way, how do you explain the case of Prince Bigan?"⁵

After Zilu left, Zigong came and Confucius put the same question to him. "The old song says, 'I am neither rhinoceros nor tiger, yet I go to the wilderness.' Is our way wrong? Is that why we have come to this?"

Zigong answered, "Master, your way is too great for the world to accept. You should modify it a little."

"A good farmer can sow but may not always reap a harvest," said Confucius. "A good craftsman can use his skill but may not be able to please. A gentleman can cultivate his way, draw up principles, recapitulate and reason, but may not be able to make his way accepted. Now

【原文】

理之，而不能为容。今尔不修尔道而求为容。赐，而志不远矣！”

子贡出，颜回入见。孔子曰：“回，《诗》云‘匪兕匪虎，率彼旷野’。吾道非邪？吾何为于此？”颜回曰：“夫子之道至大，故天下莫能容。虽然，夫子推而行之，不容何病，不容然后见君子！夫道之不修也，是吾丑也。夫道既已大修而不用，是有国者之丑也。不容何病，不容然后见君子！”孔子欣然而笑曰：“有是哉颜氏之子！使尔多财，吾为尔宰。”

于是使子贡至楚。楚昭王兴师迎孔子，然后得免。

昭王将以书社地七百里封孔子。楚令尹子西曰：“王之使使诸

【今译】

他。现在你不去发扬你学到的主张，却要降格以求人家的接受。

赐啊，你的志向太不远大了！”

子贡出来，颜回入见。孔子说：“回啊，《诗经》说‘不是犀牛不是老虎，它在旷野中徘徊’。我的主张错了吗？我为何落到这种地步？”颜回说：“先生的主张太伟大了，所以天下人没有能够接受您的。虽然如此，您还应该推行您的主张，不被世人接受那又有什么妨害呢，不被接受而后才显出君子本色呢！您的主张不去推广张扬，这是我们的耻辱。您的主张已经大肆推广张扬而不被世人接受，这是拥有国家的人的耻辱。您的主张不被接受那又有什么伤害呢，不被接受而后才显现出君子的英明！”孔子高兴地笑了，说：“这才对啊，颜氏小子！假使你有了许多钱财，我愿意替你理财。”

于是孔子派子贡到楚国去。楚昭王率领军队迎孔子，这样孔子才得以脱身。

昭王要把七百里的土地和人家封赏给孔子。楚令尹子西说：



your aim is not to cultivate your way but to please others. Your ambition is not high enough."

After Zigong had left, Yan Hui came and Confucius again put the same question to him.

"Master, your way is too great for the world to accept," said Yan Hui. "All the same, you should persist in it. What does it matter if they cannot accept it? That just shows that you are a superior man. We are at fault if we do not cultivate the true way. Yet if we cultivate it fully and it is not adopted, it is the rulers who are at fault. What does it matter if they cannot accept your way? That just shows that you are a superior man."

Confucius smiled with pleasure and exclaimed, "Well said, son of Yan! If you had great wealth, I should like to administer it for you."

Then Confucius sent Zigong to Chu. King Zhao of Chu dispatched troops to meet him, and he was finally able to get away.

King Zhao of Chu was on the point of giving Confucius seven hundred *li* of village communities as his fief, when his chief minister



【原文】

侯有如子贡者乎？曰无有。王之辅相有如颜回者乎？曰无有。王之将率有如子路者乎？曰无有。王之官尹有如宰予者乎？曰无有。且楚之祖封于周，号为子男五十里。今孔丘述三五之法，明周召之业，王若用之，则楚安得世世堂堂方数千里乎？夫文王在丰，武王在镐，百里之君卒王天下。今孔丘得据土壤，贤弟子为佐，非楚之福也。”昭王乃止。其秋，楚昭王卒于城父。

楚狂接舆歌而过孔子，曰：“凤兮凤兮，何德之衰！往者不可谏兮，来者犹可追也！已而已而，今之从政者殆而！”孔子下，欲与之言。趋而去，弗得与之言。

【今译】

“大王派去出使诸侯的使者有像子贡这样的人吗？应该说没有。大王的辅臣宰相有像颜回的吗？应该说没有。大王的将帅有像子路的吗？应该说没有。大王的官尹有像宰予的吗？应该说没有。况且楚国的祖先受封于周王室，封号是子男，封地五十里。现在孔丘讲述的是三皇五帝的治国之道，彰明周公、召公的辅佐事业，大王如果任用孔丘，那么楚国怎么能够世代拥有方圆数千里的土地呢？文王在丰城，武王在镐城，方圆百里的君主，最后竟能称霸天下。如今孔丘得到封地，有贤弟子的辅佐，这不是楚国的幸运。”昭王于是停止了对孔丘的封赏。这年秋天，楚昭王在城父去世。

楚国人接舆假装疯癫唱着歌从孔子车前经过，说：“凤凰啊，凤凰啊，你的美德为什么这样不景气！过去的事情不可挽回，将来的前景还可追上！算了吧，算了吧！现在从政的人下场危险啊！”孔子下车，想和他交谈。而接舆快步离去了，孔子没能和他交谈。



Zixi asked, "Has Your Majesty any ambassador comparable to Zigong?"

"No," said the king.

"Any minister comparable to Yan Hui?"

Again the answer was, "No."

"Any general comparable to Zilu? Any administrator comparable to Zai Yu?"

Once again the answer was, "No."

"When the founder of the House of Chu received his fief from the Zhou Dynasty, he had a low rank and only fifty *li* of land. Now Confucius is following the ways of the ancient kings to display the virtues of the duke of Zhou and the duke of Shao. If you entrust him with authority, sir, Chu will not keep these few thousand *li* for many generations. When King Wen was in Feng and King Wu in Hao, they were only princes with a hundred *li* of territory, but they rose to sovereignty of the whole empire. If Confucius with such able disciples to help him were to have land of his own, that would not be to our advantage." Accordingly King Zhao gave up the idea. And that autumn he died in Chengfu.

The eccentric of Chu, Jie Yu, walked past Confucius singing:

Ah, phoenix, phoenix,
How powerless you are!
Useless to blame what's done,
Take thought for what's to come.
Enough, enough!
Today there is danger
For those who guide the state.

Confucius alighted from his carriage to speak to this man, but the eccentric ran off.

【原文】

于是孔子自楚反乎卫。是岁也，孔子年六十三，而鲁哀公六年也。

其明年，吴与鲁会缙，征百牢。太宰嚭召季康子。康子使子贡往，然后得已。

孔子曰：“鲁卫之政，兄弟也。”是时，卫君辄父不得立，在外，诸侯数以为让。而孔子弟子多仕于卫，卫君欲得孔子为政。子路曰：“卫君待子而为政，子将奚先？”孔子曰：“必也正名乎！”子路曰：“有是哉，子之迂也！何其正也？”孔子曰：“野哉由也！夫名不正则言不顺，言不顺则事不成，事不成则礼乐不兴，礼乐不兴则刑罚不中，刑罚不中则民无所措手足矣。夫君子为之必可名，

【今译】

于是孔子从楚国返回卫国。这年，孔子六十三岁，是鲁国哀公即位的第六年。

第二年，吴国与鲁国在缙地会盟，吴国向鲁国索取百牢的祭品。太宰嚭召请季康子。康子派子贡前往交涉，然后鲁国才免于缴纳百牢祭品。

孔子说：“鲁国和卫国的政治，像兄弟一样。”这时，卫国君辄的父亲没能继位做国君，流落在外，诸侯多次指责这件事。孔子的弟子许多人都在卫国作官，卫君想请孔子出来执政。子路说：“卫君等待您去参政，您要先做什么事情呢？”孔子说：“一定先正名分！”子路说：“有这样的打算啊，您太迂阔了！为什么还要正名分呢？”孔子说：“粗野的小子啊，仲由！名分不正，那么言论就不顺；言论不顺，那么事情就办不成；事情办不成而礼乐就不兴盛，礼乐不兴盛那刑罚就不会公正；刑罚不公正而百姓就无所措手足了。君子做事必须合乎名分，说出的话一定切实可行。君





Then Confucius went back from Chu to Wei. He was sixty-three this year, the sixth year of Duke Ai of Lu.

The next year the king of Wu and the duke of Lu met at Zeng and the king demanded a hundred oxen. Chancellor Bo Pi of Wu summoned Ji Kangzi, who sent Zigong in his place. Then Wu dropped its demand.

Confucius said, "The rulers of Lu and Wei are like two brothers."

At this time Duke Zhefu of Wei had not succeeded to power but was staying in another state. The other feudal lords regarded him as having abdicated. Since most of Confucius' disciples were serving Wei, the duke wanted him to join the government too.

Zilu asked, "If the duke of Wei urged you to govern his state, what would you do first?"

"I would rectify titles," said Confucius.

"You are very unpractical," said Zilu. "Why are you so set on rectifying titles?"

Confucius retorted, "What a savage you are! If titles are incorrect, orders will not be carried out; and if orders are not carried out, then nothing can be achieved. That means that rites and music will not flourish, laws and punishments will be wide of the mark, and people will not know what to do. A gentleman's actions must be such as he can name; he must promise only what he can perform. A gentleman must keep a



【原文】

言之必可行。君子于其言，无所苟而已矣。”

其明年，冉有为季氏将师，与齐战于郎，克之。季康子曰：“子之于军旅，学之乎？性之乎？”冉有曰：“学之于孔子。”季康子曰：“孔子何如人哉？”对曰：“用之有名；播之百姓，质诸鬼神而无憾。求之至于此道，虽累千社，夫子不利也。”康子曰：“我欲召之，可乎？”对曰：“欲召之，则毋以小人固之，则可矣。”而卫孔文子将攻太叔，问策于仲尼。仲尼辞不知，退而命载而行，曰：“鸟能择木，木岂能择鸟乎！”文子固止。会季康子逐公华、公宾、公林，以币迎孔子，孔子归鲁。

孔子之去鲁凡十四岁而反乎鲁。

【今译】

子对于他自己的话，不可以有丝毫的马虎罢了。”

第二年，冉有替季氏统率军队，与齐国在郎邑交战，打败了齐军。季康子说：“您对于军队的事情学习过吗？还是先天的才能呢？”冉有说：“向孔子学习过。”季康子说：“孔子是怎样的一个人呢？”冉有回答说：“孔子做事情是符合名分的；他的主张推行给百姓，或是对质于鬼神，都是没有遗憾的。我要按照老师的这种原则去做，否则，虽然得到两千五百户人家的封赏，孔子也不认为是有利的。”康子说：“我想召请孔子，可以吗？”冉有回答说：“您要召请他，那么不要受小人的鄙陋见识的阻碍，那就可以了。”卫国的孔文子要攻打太叔疾，向仲尼请教计策。仲尼推辞不知晓，退出后命令驾车而行，说：“鸟能够选择树木，树木怎么能选择鸟呢！”文子坚决挽留孔子。正巧遇上季康子派公华、公宾、公林，带着礼物迎接孔子，孔子回归鲁国。

孔子离开鲁国一共十四年才返回鲁国。



careful watch on his speech.”

The following year Ran You, given the command of the army by Ji Kangzi, defeated Qi at Lang.

“Have you studied the arts of war?” Ji Kangzi asked him. “Or are you naturally gifted?”

Ran You replied, “I learned this from Confucius.”

“What kind of man is he?”

“He wants his actions to correspond to his principles. In applying his principles to govern the people he tries to carry out the wishes of the gods. This is what he wants, not to possess wealth to the value of a thousand villages.”

“Could I ask him back?”

“If you do, you must not let petty-minded men obstruct him.”

At that time Kong Wenzi of Wei planned to attack Taishu and asked Confucius for a plan of campaign, but Confucius declined on the ground that this was beyond him. Upon withdrawing he ordered his carriage, saying, “The bird chooses its tree; the tree cannot choose the bird.” However, Kong Wenzi prevailed on him to stay. Then Ji Kangzi sent Gonghua, Gongbin and Gonglin with gifts to invite Confucius back to Lu. He had been away from the state for fourteen years.

【原文】

鲁哀公问政，对曰：“政在选臣。”季康子问政，曰：“举直错诸枉，则枉者直。”康子患盗，孔子曰：“苟子之不欲，虽赏之不窃。”然鲁终不能用孔子，孔子亦不求仕。

孔子之时，周室微而礼乐废，《诗》《书》缺。追迹三代之礼，序《书传》，上纪唐虞之际，下至秦穆，编次其事。曰：“夏礼吾能言之，杞不足征也。殷礼吾能言之，宋不足征也。足，则吾能征之矣。”观殷夏所损益，曰：“后虽百世可知也，以一文一质。周监

【今译】

鲁哀公向孔子请教政务，孔子回答说：“为政最主要的是选择好大臣。”季康子向孔子请教政务，孔子说：“举用正直的人，抛弃邪曲的人，那么就使邪曲的人变成正直的人了。”康子担心盗贼，孔子说：“如果您在上面没有贪心，那么在下的人即使鼓励他们去偷盗，他们也不会行窃。”可是鲁国始终没有任用孔子，而孔子也不去谋求做官。

孔子在世时，周王室衰微，礼乐废弃，《诗》、《书》残缺。孔子追溯探究夏、商、西周三代的礼仪制度，依次编定《书传》的篇章，上记唐尧、虞舜的时代，下至秦穆公，依照时间的先后编辑整理历史事件。孔子说：“夏朝的礼仪制度我能讲述，但是夏朝的后代杞国没有留下足够的文献证实它。殷商的礼仪制度我能说出来，但是殷商的后代宋国没有留下足够的文献证实它。如果文献充足，那么我就能够证实它了。”观看殷、夏礼仪制度的损补的情况后，孔子说：“以后即使再经过一百世，礼仪制度也还是可以推演而知的，因为一种洋溢着文采，一种充满着质朴。周王朝的礼仪制度的制定，是参照了夏代和殷代的礼仪制度，因此是多



Asked about government by Duke Ai of Lu, he replied, "The art lies in choosing your ministers well."

Asked about government by Ji Kangzi, he answered, "If you use the straight in place of the crooked, the crooked will become straight."

Ji Kangzi was troubled by some cases of theft. Confucius said, "If you yourself were free from desire, they would not steal even if you paid them to do so." However, as it turned out Lu did not employ him and Confucius did not ask for an official post.

During the time of Confucius the House of Zhou had declined, the ancient rites and music were forgotten, and many of the songs and records were missing. He verified the rites of the Three Dynasties and compiled the *Book of Documents*, arranging the records chronologically from the time of Yao and Shun to that of Duke Mu of Qin, marshaling the facts in good order. He said, "I can speak about the rites of Xia, but the records of Qi are too scanty to verify. I can speak about the rites of Yin,⁶ but the records of Song are too scanty to verify. Had they been complete, I should have been able to check them." With regard to the differences in the Shang and Xia cultures, he declared, "Far removed as we are in time, we can still tell that one culture was elaborate, the other simple. Zhou, which learned from both, reached a



【原文】

二代，郁郁乎文哉。吾从周。”故《书传》、《礼记》自孔氏。

孔子语鲁太师：“乐其可知也。始作翕如，纵之纯如，皦如，绎如也，以成。”“吾自卫反鲁，然后乐正，雅颂各得其所。”

古者《诗》三千余篇，及至孔子，去其重，取可施于礼义，上采契后稷，中述殷周之盛，至幽厉之缺，始于衽席，故曰“《关雎》之乱以为《风》始，《鹿鸣》为《小雅》始，《文王》为《大雅》始，《清庙》为《颂》始”。三百五篇孔子皆弦歌之，以求合《韶》《武》《雅》《颂》之音。礼乐自此可得而述，以备王道，成六艺。

【今译】

么丰富多彩呀！我遵从周王朝的礼仪制度。”所以《书传》、《礼记》都是孔子编定的。

孔子告诉鲁国乐官太师说：“乐律是可以知晓的。开始演奏，五音配合乐声洪大，接下去是音律高低和谐，音节明快，再连续不断，这就构成一部乐曲。”他又说：“我从卫国返回鲁国，而后整理订正了音乐，使《雅》、《颂》得到了原来应有的曲调。”

古代留传下来的《诗》有三千多篇，到了孔子时，删去重复，选取那些可以用于礼仪教化上的，往上采用殷商始祖契、周朝始祖后稷的圣德，再述殷、周的兴盛，直到周幽王、周厉王时礼乐制度的残破，把叙述夫妇关系和感情的诗放在首篇，所以说“《关雎》这一乐诗放在《国风》的开始，《鹿鸣》乐诗作为《小雅》的开始，《文王》乐诗作为《大雅》的开始，《清庙》乐诗作为《颂》的开始”。三百零五篇诗，孔子都配乐歌唱它，以求配合《韶》、《武》、《雅》、《颂》乐舞的音调。先王的礼乐制度从此可以得到称述，因为具备了先王的仁义之道，完成了《诗》、《书》、《礼》、《乐》、《易》、《春秋》六经的编修。



pinnacle of culture. I follow Zhou."

Thus both the *Book of Documents* and the *Book of Rites* were compiled by Confucius.

He told the chief musician of Lu, "As far as we know, music started with strict unison. Then more licence was allowed, but it has remained pure, clear and consistent to the end. Since my return from Wei to Lu, I have set right the music and arranged the odes and hymns in proper order."

There were more than three thousand ancient songs, but Confucius rejected those which were repetitious and retained those which had moral value, beginning with songs about the ancestors of Shang and Zhou, going on to descriptions of the good reigns of both dynasties and thence to the misdeeds of King You and King Li. He put the poems about daily life first, starting the folk-song section with the *Song of the Dove*, the Lesser Odes with *The Deer Cries*, the Greater Odes with *King Wen* and the Hymns with the *Temple of Purity*. Confucius chose three hundred and five songs in all, and these he set to music and sang, fitting them to the music of Emperor Shun and King Wu. After that the old rites and music became widely known, to the enrichment of the kingly culture, and the Six Classics were established.

【原文】

孔子晚而喜《易》，序《彖》、《系》、《象》、《说卦》、《文言》。读《易》，韦编三绝。曰：“假我数年，若是，我于《易》则彬彬矣。”

孔子以《诗》《书》《礼》《乐》教，弟子盖三千焉，身通六艺者七十有二人。如颜浊邹之徒，颇受业者甚众。

孔子以四教：文，行，忠，信。绝四：毋意，毋必，毋固，毋我。所慎：齐，战，疾。子罕言利与命与仁。不愤不启，举一隅不以三隅反，则弗复也。

其于乡党，恂恂似不能言者。其于宗庙朝廷，辩辩言，唯谨

【今译】

孔子晚年喜爱《易经》，为《彖》、《系》、《象》、《说卦》、《文言》诸卦辞作了序文。孔子勤奋研读《易经》，多次翻断了编穿竹简的绳子。孔子说：“给我数年时间，像这样，我对于《易经》从文辞到义理就可以全部掌握了。”

孔子以《诗》、《书》、《礼》、《乐》为教材教育弟子，拜他为师的弟子大概有三千人，精通礼、乐、射、御、书、数六艺的人有七十二位。像颜浊邹这样的弟子，很多方面都受到孔子的教育而又不在于七十二人之列的弟子，也是很多的。

孔子教育弟子有四个方面：学问、品行、忠恕、信义。杜绝四个方面：不揣测，不武断，不固执，不自以为是。谨慎而做的有三个方面：斋戒，战争，疾病。孔子很少把利益与命运、利益与仁德结合起来谈论。孔子不去启发那些求知欲望不强、不刻苦研读的人，弟子不能举一反三地推演出相似的道理，他就不再重复讲解了。

孔子在家乡时，谦恭诚实，好像是不大会说话的样子。他在宗庙朝廷时，说起话来清楚明白，但又很谨慎。上朝时，与上大



In his old age Confucius loved to study the *Book of Change*, the order of the hexagrams, definitions, appendices, interpretations, explanations and commentaries. He studied this book so much that the leather thongs binding the wooden strips wore out three times. "Give me a few years more," he said, "and I shall become quite proficient!"

Confucius taught his pupils the old songs, records, rites and music. In all he had three thousand pupils, seventy-two of whom were versed in all Six Arts.⁷ Many more, like Yan Zhuozou, also received instruction from him.

In his teaching Confucius laid emphasis on four things: culture, conduct, loyalty and honesty. Four things he avoided: foregone conclusions, arbitrary views, obstinacy and egoism. He advocated caution during sacrifice, war and sickness. He rarely spoke of profit, fate or goodness. He would only help those who were in earnest. If he gave one corner of a square and the pupil could not infer the other three corners, he would not repeat his explanation.

In his native village his manner was unassuming, as though he did not trust himself to speak. But in the ancestral temple or at court his speech was ordered, and he chose his words with care. At court he

【原文】

尔。朝，与上大夫言，闾闾如也；与下大夫言，侃侃如也。

入公门，鞠躬如也；趋进，翼如也。君召使傧，色勃如也。君命召，不俟驾行矣。

鱼馁，肉败，割不正，不食。席不正，不坐。食于有丧者之侧，未尝饱也。

是日哭，则不歌。见齐衰、瞽者，虽童子必变。

“三人行，必得我师。”“德之不修，学之不讲，闻义不能徙，不善不能改，是吾忧也。”使人歌，善，则使复之，然后和之。

【今译】

夫交谈，态度和顺，中正自然；与下大夫谈话，和乐安详。

孔子进入国君的宫门时，弯着腰，就像鞠躬一样；小步快行，显出很恭敬的样子。国君召请他接待宾客，孔子的神色显出振作而又郑重的样子。每当国君有命召见他，他都等不得驾上车子，闻命即行。

鱼腐烂了，肉变味了，或是不按规矩切割肉，孔子都不吃。座席不摆正，孔子不去坐。每当在有丧事的人的旁边吃饭，孔子从不吃饱饭。

孔子要是在一天内哭泣过，就不唱歌了。看见穿着丧服的人，或是眼睛瞎了的人，即使是小孩子，孔子也一定会变色以示同情。

孔子说：“三人同行，必有一人是我的老师。”孔子又说：“品德不进行修养，学业不深入研讨，听到富有道义的事情而不去做，有了错误和缺点而不能改正，这是我忧虑的问题。”孔子请别人唱歌，唱得好，就请他再唱一遍，然后和他一道唱。



addressed high ministers firmly, low officials affably. Entering the gate of a public office he bowed his head, and advancing in haste he spread his sleeves gracefully. Summoned by a prince to accompany guests, he bore himself gravely; and at a summons from his lord he set off without waiting for his carriage.

He would not eat fish that was not fresh, meat that was high or anything carelessly cut. He would not sit on a mat that was not straight. In the company of a man in mourning he would not eat his fill. On the day that he attended a funeral he would not sing. Deep mourning or blindness, even in a child, always made him grave.

“When three walk together, there must be one who can teach me,” said Confucius. “Failure to cultivate virtue, to perfect my knowledge, to change when I hear what is right and to correct my faults — these are the things that worry me.”

When he invited men to sing and found the song good, he would ask for a repetition and join in himself.

【原文】

子不语：怪，力，乱，神。

子贡曰：“夫子之文章，可得闻也。夫子言天道与性命，弗可得闻也已。”颜渊喟然叹曰：“仰之弥高，钻之弥坚。瞻之在前，忽焉在后。夫子循循然善诱人，博我以文，约我以礼，欲罢不能。既竭我才，如有所立，卓尔。虽欲从之，蔑由也已。”达巷党人曰：“大哉孔子！博学而无所成名。”子闻之曰：“我何执？执御乎？执射乎？我执御矣。”牢曰：“子云‘不试，故艺’。”

鲁哀公十四年春，狩大野。叔孙氏车子鉏商获兽，以为不祥。仲尼视之，曰：“麟也。”取之。曰：“河不出图，洛不出

【今译】

孔子不谈论：怪异、暴力、淫乱、神鬼的事情。

子贡说：“老师的有关礼乐制度方面的见解，我们是知道了。老师谈论天道性命的哲理，我们很难听得懂了。”颜渊喟然叹息说：“老师的学问，仰望着崇高无比，深入钻研，越觉坚实深厚。看着它好像是在前面，忽然又到后面了。老师善于循序渐进地诱导人，用文章丰富我，用礼仪约束我，即便我想停止学习也办不到了。已经竭尽了我的全部才能，似乎有所收获，但是老师的学问卓然高耸而不可及。虽然在老师的诱导下我也想追赶上去，但是没有办法着手罢了。”达巷的地方人说：“伟大呀，孔子！学识广博但又不专一名家。”孔子听了之后说：“我应该专些什么呢？是专驾车呢？还是专射箭呢？我就专于驾车吧。”孔子的弟子牢说：“老师说过‘我不得重用，所以学习了这些技艺’。”

鲁哀公十四年(公元前481年)春天，在大野狩猎。叔孙氏的驾车人鉏商获得一只野兽，认为不吉祥。仲尼看见野兽说：“这是麒麟。”鉏商才把麒麟取走了。孔子说：“黄河中再不见神龙负八



The subjects on which he did not talk were: extraordinary things, feats of strength, political disorders, and the supernatural.

Zigong once said, "We can hear the master's views concerning culture, but he does not tell us anything about Nature and Fate."

And Yan Hui once said with a sigh, "The more I look up, the higher is his teaching above me. The deeper I probe, the harder it becomes. One moment I think I have it, but the next it eludes me again. How skilfully, step by step, the master leads us on! He has broadened me with culture, restrained me with ritual. Even if I wanted to, I could not stop. I go all out, yet just as I think I am achieving something, he is far beyond me again. I want to follow, but cannot find the way."

A villager of Daxiang remarked, "Confucius is truly great, known for his wide knowledge, but not for any special skill."

When Confucius heard this he asked, "What shall I take up? Charioteering or archery? I choose charioteering."

Qin Lao commented, "The master said he learned many arts because he never held office."

In the spring of the fourteenth year of Duke Ai of Lu there was a great hunt at Daye, and Shusun's charioteer Chu Shang caught a creature which he thought was ill-omened. Confucius seeing it exclaimed, "This is a unicorn!" He took it back, saying, "No chart has come out of the Yellow River, no writings from the River Luo.⁸ All is over with



【原文】

书，吾已矣夫！”颜渊死，孔子曰：“天丧予！”及西狩见麟，曰：“吾道穷矣！”喟然叹曰：“莫知我夫！”子贡曰：“何为莫知子？”子曰：“不怨天，不尤人，下学而上达，知我者其天乎！”

“不降其志，不辱其身，伯夷、叔齐乎！”谓“柳下惠、少连降志辱身矣”。谓“虞仲、夷逸隐居放言，行中清，废中权”。

“我则异于是，无可无不可。”

子曰：“弗乎弗乎！君子病没世而名不称焉。吾道不行矣，吾何以自见于后世哉？”乃因史记作《春秋》，上至隐公，下讫哀公十四年，十二公。据鲁，亲周，故殷，运之三代。约其文辞而指

【今译】

卦图出现，洛水中再不见神龟负书出现，我将要完啦！”颜渊死了，孔子说：“这是上天要灭亡我呀！”等到西去狩猎看见麒麟，孔子说：“我的主张到了尽头了！”他喟然长叹说：“天下没有人了解我啊！”子贡说：“为什么没有人了解您呢？”孔子说：“不怨天，不归咎人，下学人事，上达天命，了解我的大概只有上天吧！”

孔子说：“不降低自己的志向，不侮辱自己的身体，伯夷、叔齐就是这样的人吧！”他又说：“柳下惠、少连降低志向，侮辱自身呀。”他又说：“虞仲、夷逸隐居起来，不谈世事，行为合乎清洁，自我废弃合乎权变。”他又说：“我的做法和他们不同，不一定求进，也不一定求退。”

孔子说：“不可以啊，不可以啊！君子最痛恨的是死后而名声不被世上称颂。我的主张不能推行，我用什么东西留给后世呢？”孔子就凭着鲁国史官的记载数据编写了《春秋》，上至鲁隐公，下讫鲁哀公的十四年，前后一共十二个国君的历史。《春秋》是以鲁国史料为主体，宗主周王室，以殷代制度为古典，上推承三代的



me." When Yan Hui died Confucius had cried, "Heaven has forsaken me!" And now that this unicorn was captured in the west, he exclaimed, "My way has come to an end!" Sighing, he lamented, "Nobody understands me."

Zigong asked, "Why does nobody understand you?"

Confucius said, "I bear no grudge against Heaven nor do I blame men. I learn from below and try to reach above, but only Heaven can understand me. Bo Yi and Shu Qi held fast by their principles and would not debase themselves, whereas Liuxia Hui and Shao Lian surrendered their principles and debased themselves. Then there were Yu Zhong and Yi Yi who held aloof as recluses and spoke their mind. They would not serve a government unless it was incorrupt and resigned from office whenever expedient. I am not like these men: I have no such scruples."

The master said, "Alas! Alas! What a gentleman dreads is to die before his name is known. My way is not popular. How shall I make myself known to later ages?"

Then he compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals* based on the historical records of twelve reigns, from that of Duke Yin down to the fourteenth year of the reign of Duke Ai. In this book Lu is given the predominant position, Zhou is considered worthy of respect, Shang is relegated to the past, and the spirit of the Three Dynasties is used as a



【原文】

博。故吴楚之君自称王，而《春秋》贬之曰“子”；践土之会实召周天子，而《春秋》讳之曰“天王狩於河阳”。推此类以绳当世。贬损之义，后有王者举而开之。《春秋》之义行，则天下乱臣贼子惧焉。

孔子在位听讼，文辞有可与人共者，弗独有也。至于为《春秋》，笔则笔，削则削，子夏之徒不能赞一辞。弟子受春秋，孔子曰：“后世知丘者以《春秋》，而罪丘者亦以《春秋》。”

明岁，子路死于卫。孔子病，子贡请见。孔子方负杖逍遥于门，曰：“赐，汝来何其晚也？”孔子因叹，歌曰：“太山坏乎！

【今译】

法统。《春秋》一书文辞简练而义旨博大。所以吴国、楚国的国君自行称王，而《春秋》则贬斥他们为“子”爵；践土的会盟，实际上是晋文公召周天子，而《春秋》避讳这件事，则说是“周天子狩猎于河阳”。推出这些事情，是为了纠正当世不合于礼乐制度的行为。这种贬斥责备的深义，是为了使后世英明君王举用和推广。如果《春秋》的义旨能够得到推行，那么天下的乱臣贼子就会恐惧了。

孔子任司寇职务时，审理诉讼案件，文辞上有应该和别人商议之处都是共同斟酌的，从不独断判决。到他撰写《春秋》时，当写的就写，当删的就删，就连子夏等这些擅长文学的弟子也不能增删一个字辞。弟子学习《春秋》，孔子说：“后代人认识我孔丘的，将依据这部《春秋》；而怪罪我孔丘的，也将依据这部《春秋》。”

第二年，子路死在卫国。孔子病重，子贡请求拜见。孔子正拄着拐杖在门前散步，说：“赐，你为什么来得这样晚呢？”孔子



guiding principle. The language is concise, the content profound. Though the rulers of Wu and Chu had styled themselves kings, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* criticizes them by calling them barons. Although the duke of Jin actually summoned the king of Zhou to a meeting at Jiantu, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* records that "the Great King went to hunt at Heyang". These examples can be used as criteria in any age to criticize or condemn men's actions, and later princes should uphold this tradition and broaden its application. When the principles of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are carried out, all traitors and evil-doers in the world must tremble. When Confucius as a government official tried a case, he used the common speech and not distinctive language. But in editing the *Spring and Autumn Annals* he recorded certain events and omitted others so that not even men like Zixia could make any comment. The disciples of Confucius studied the *Spring and Autumn Annals* under him, and he said, "It is these annals by which later men will know me, and it is these annals which will make men condemn me."

The next year Zilu died in Wei and Confucius fell ill. When Zigong went to see him, the master, pacing by the door with a stick, demanded, "Why have you come so late?" Then he sighed and sang:

Mount Tai crumbles,
The great beam breaks,
The wise man withers away



【原文】

梁柱摧乎！哲人萎乎！”因以涕下。谓子贡曰：“天下无道久矣，莫能宗予。夏人殡于东阶，周人于西阶，殷人两柱间。昨暮予梦坐奠两柱之间，予始殷人也。”后七日卒。

孔子年七十三，以鲁哀公十六年四月己丑卒。

哀公诔之曰：“旻天不吊，不憖遗一老，俾屏余一人以在位，莜莜余在疚。呜呼哀哉！尼父，毋自律！”子贡曰：“君其不没于鲁乎！夫子之言曰：‘礼失则昏，名失则愆。失志为昏，失所为愆。’生不能用，死而诔之，非礼也。称‘余一人’，非名也。”

【今译】

就叹息了一声，歌唱说：“泰山毁坏了！梁柱摧折了！哲人枯萎了！”因此孔子掉下眼泪。他对子贡说：“天下无道已经很久了，没有人信仰我的主张。夏朝人死后停柩在东阶，周朝人死后停柩在西阶，殷人死后则将柩停放在两柱之间。昨天晚上我做梦坐在两柱之间，受人祭奠，我原本就是殷商人。”过了七天，孔子就死了。

孔子享年七十三岁，是鲁哀公十六年（公元前479年）四月己丑这天去世的。

哀公为孔子写了一篇悼文说：“上天不仁慈，不肯留下一位老人，让他抛弃了我，我一人在位，孤零零地忧思悲痛。啊，令人哀伤！尼父，不再自我拘束于礼法了！”子贡说：“君主大概不会终老在鲁国吧！老师说过这样的话：‘礼法失去就要昏乱，名分失去就要出现过失。失去志向就是昏乱，失去所宜就是过错。’您在生前未能使他得到重用，死后前来哀悼，不符合礼法。作为诸侯，妄用天子的称呼，说‘余一人’，这就不符合名分。”



With tears he told Zigong, "The world has long strayed from the true way and no one can follow me. The men of Xia mourned the dead by the east steps, the men of Zhou by the west steps, while the men of Yin mourned between pillars. Last night I dreamed that I was sitting before offerings between two pillars. It follows that I must be a man of Yin."

He died seven days later at the age of seventy-three, on the *jichou* day of the fourth month of the sixteenth year of Duke Ai of Lu.⁹

Duke Ai, mourning Confucius, said, "Kind Heaven had no pity on me and would not spare this grand old man. I am left alone in the world, full of grief and sorrow. Oh, master, to whom shall I look for guidance now?"

Zigong commented, "The duke shall die in an alien land. The master said that lack of ceremony is folly, the misuse of designations a fault. To abandon your principles is also folly, to forget your place a fault. Not to employ the master during his lifetime but to mourn him after death runs counter to true ceremony, while the description 'alone in the world' does not befit a duke."

【原文】

孔子葬鲁城北泗上，弟子皆服三年。三年心丧毕，相诀而去，则哭，各复尽哀；或复留。唯子赣庐于冢上，凡六年，然后去。弟子及鲁人往从冢而家者百有余室，因命曰孔里。鲁世世相传以岁时奉祠孔子冢，而诸儒亦讲礼乡饮大射于孔子冢。孔子冢大一顷。故所居堂、弟子内，后世因庙，藏孔子衣冠琴车书，至于汉二百余年不绝。高皇帝过鲁，以太牢祠焉。诸侯卿相至，常先谒然后从政。

孔子生鲤，字伯鱼。伯鱼年五十，先孔子死。

伯鱼生伋，字子思，年六十二。尝困于宋。子思作《中

【今译】

孔子死后埋葬在鲁城北的泗水边上，弟子们都服丧三年。三年过去了，弟子们为老师心里守丧已毕，互相诀别而离去，就哭了起来，各又尽哀；有的弟子又留下来。惟有子赣在坟墓旁建起一间房子，共守了六年，然后离去。孔子的弟子和鲁国人前往移居孔子墓旁居住的有一百多家，因此命名这里为孔里。鲁国世代相传每年按时节祭祀孔子坟墓，儒生们也在孔子墓前讲演礼仪，学业完成后举行乡饮酒，还举行大规模的比射仪式。孔子坟墓的占地面积有一顷那么大。孔子的故居堂屋及弟子们的内室，后世就改成了庙堂，收藏孔子的衣服、帽子、琴、车、书，直到汉代二百多年没有断绝。高皇帝经过鲁地，用牛羊猪三牲祭祀孔子。诸侯、卿大夫、宰相一到任，常常先去拜谒孔子庙，然后才去处理政务。

孔子生儿子孔鲤，字伯鱼。伯鱼五十岁时，死在了孔子的前面。

伯鱼生儿子孔伋，字子思，活了六十二岁。他曾经在宋国受



Confucius was buried by the River Si north of the city of Lu, and after his pupils had mourned for him for three years without wearing the customary mourning they bade each other farewell. But then they wept and mourned again, and some stayed longer at the grave. Zi-gong alone built a hut beside the grave and stayed there for three more years. Because more than a hundred of Confucius' disciples and other men of Lu settled near the grave, the district was named Confucius Village. The custom of sacrificing at the sage's grave during festivals has persisted from generation to generation. Scholars discuss ceremony there, while village feasts and archery contests are held there. His graveyard covers over a hundred *mu*. The house in which he lived was made into a temple by the descendants of some of his disciples, and there his clothes, hat, lute, carriage and books were kept. The place still existed more than two hundred years later, in the Han Dynasty. When the First Emperor of Han passed Lu, he offered a grand sacrifice there. Barons and ministers appointed to posts there pay homage to the shrine of Confucius before taking up their duties.

Confucius' son Li, styled Boyu, lived to be fifty and died before his father. Boyu's son Ji styled Zisi, who lived to be sixty-two, once found himself in difficulties in Song and wrote the *Doctrine of the Mean*. Zisi's

【原文】

庸》。

子思生白，字子上，年四十七。子上生求，字子家，年四十五。子家生箕，字子京，年四十六。子京生穿，字子高，年五十一。子高生子慎，年五十七，尝为魏相。

子慎生鲋，年五十七，为陈王涉博士，死于陈下。

鲋弟子襄，年五十七。尝为孝惠皇帝博士，迁为长沙太守。长九尺六寸。

子襄生忠，年五十七。忠生武。武生延年及安国。安国为今皇帝博士，至临淮太守，蚤卒。安国生印，印生驩。

【今译】

困。子思作了《中庸》。

子思生儿子孔白，字子上，享年四十七岁。子上生儿子孔求，字子家，享年四十五岁。子家生儿子孔箕，字子京，享年四十六岁。子京生儿子孔穿，字子高，享年五十一岁。子高生儿子子慎，享年五十七岁，曾经做过魏国相国。

子慎生儿子孔鲋，享年五十七岁，作过陈王涉的博士，死在了陈地。

孔鲋的弟弟子襄，享年五十七岁。曾经做过孝惠皇帝的博士，后又晋升为长沙太守。身高九尺六寸。

孔子襄生儿子孔忠，享年五十七岁。孔忠生儿子孔武。孔武生儿子延年和安国。安国任当今皇帝的博士，官至临淮太守，早死。安国生儿子孔印，孔印生儿子孔驩。

son Bai, styled Zishang, lived to be forty-seven. His son Qiu, styled Zijia, lived to be forty-five. His son Ji, styled Zijing, lived to be forty-six. His son Chuan, styled Zigao, lived to be fifty-one. His son Zishen, who lived to be fifty-seven, was a minister in Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.). Zishen's son Fu, who lived to be fifty-seven, served as literary adviser to Prince Chen She and died in Chen. Fu's younger brother Zixiang, who lived to be fifty-seven, served as literary adviser under Emperor Hui and was later appointed governor of Changsha. He was over six feet in height. Zixiang's son Zhong lived to be fifty-seven. Zhong's son Wu had two sons, Yannian and Anguo. The latter served as literary adviser to the present emperor and later became governor of Linghuai, but he died long ago, Anguo's son Ang had a son named Huan.





【原文】

太史公曰：《诗》有之：“高山仰止，景行行止。”虽不能至，然心乡往之。余读孔氏书，想见其为人。适鲁，观仲尼庙堂车服礼器，诸生以时习礼其家，余祇回留之不能去云。天下君王至于贤人众矣，当时则荣，没则已焉。孔子布衣，传十余世，学者宗之。自天子王侯，中国言六艺者折中于夫子，可谓至圣矣！

【今译】

太史公说：《诗经》有这样的话：“像高山一样令人瞻仰，像崇德一样使人遵从。”我虽然不能亲临其境瞻仰，但我的心已经向往。我阅读孔子的书，想到了孔子的为人。我到了鲁地，观赏了仲尼的庙堂中陈列的车子、衣帽、礼器，儒生们按时到孔子家中演习礼仪，我怀着敬意，留恋而不能离去。天下的君王以及贤人是很多的呀，在世的时候就荣耀，死后也就销声灭迹。孔子是位平民百姓，他的学说和高尚品德流传十多代了，学者们都以孔子为宗师。从天子王侯以下，凡是中原各国谈论《六艺》的人，都以孔子的言论为标准，孔子可称得上是位圣人了！

The Grand Historian comments: One of the songs says, "The great mountain, I look up to it! The great road, I travel it!" Although I cannot reach him, my heart goes out to him. When I read the works of Confucius, I try to see the man himself. In Lu I visited his temple and saw his carriage, clothes and sacrificial vessels. Scholars go regularly to study ceremony there, and I found it hard to tear myself away. The world has known innumerable princes and worthies who enjoyed fame and honour in their day but were forgotten after death, while Confucius, a commoner, has been looked up to by scholars for ten generations and more. From the emperor, princes and barons downwards, all in China who study the Six Arts take the master as their final authority. Well is he called the Supreme Sage!



¹ 551 B.C.

² The legendary pacifier of floods and founder of the Xia Dynasty.

³ Positive and negative forces of nature.

⁴ Two Shang nobles who starved to death after the fall of the Shang Dynasty.

⁵ A wise noble who was killed by the last king of Shang.

⁶ Another name for Shang.

⁷ Ceremony, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathematics.

⁸ Referring to auspicious omens of an earlier age.

⁹ 479 B.C.

陈涉世家

【原文】

陈胜者，阳城人也，字涉。吴广者，阳夏人也，字叔。陈涉少时，尝与人佣耕，辍耕之垄上，怅恨久之，曰：“苟富贵，无相忘！”庸者笑而应曰：“若为庸耕，何富贵也！”陈涉太息曰：“嗟乎！燕雀安知鸿鹄之志哉！”

二世元年七月，发闾左适戍渔阳，九百人屯大泽乡。陈胜、吴广皆次当行，为屯长。会天大雨，道不通，度已失期。失期，法皆斩。陈胜、吴广乃谋曰：“今亡亦死，举大计亦死，等死，死国可乎？”陈胜曰：“天下苦秦久矣。吾闻二世少子也，不当立，

【今译】

陈胜是阳城人，字涉。吴广是阳夏人，字叔。陈涉年轻的时候，曾经与别人一道被人家雇佣耕种，累了就停止耕作站在田埂上，感慨恼恨了好一会儿，说：“如果谁将来富贵了，大家相互不要忘记。”同他一起耕作的伙伴们笑着回答说：“你是被雇佣耕种的，会有什么富贵呢？”陈涉叹息说：“唉，燕子、麻雀怎么能知道大雁、天鹅的志向呢！”

秦二世元年（公元前209年）七月，征发贫民百姓去守卫渔阳，有九百人驻扎在大泽乡。陈胜、吴广都被编在守卫的队伍之中，作了领队的屯长。正赶上天下大雨，道路不通，估计已经不能按期到达守卫的地点。秦朝规定，误了日期，依照法律都要处斩。陈胜、吴广就商议说：“如今逃跑也是死，举事起义也是死，同样都是死，为国而死可以吗？”陈胜说：“天下百姓遭受秦国残暴统治的苦害已经很久了。我听说二世是始皇的小儿子，不应当



Chen She

Chen Sheng, whose other name was She, was a native of Yangcheng. Wu Guang, or Wu Shu, was a native of Yangxia. Chen She was a farm hand when young. One day when resting from his labours he climbed up a mound and brooded morosely for some time.

"If I become rich and noble, I will not forget the rest of you," he said.

The other farm hands laughed.

"How can a farm labourer become rich and noble?" they asked.

"Ah!" said Chen She with a deep sigh. "Can a sparrow know a wild swan's ambition?"

In the seventh month of the first year of the Second Emperor of Qin, nine hundred men from the poor end of their village were conscripted for garrison service at Yuyang. On the way they stopped at Dazexiang. Chen She and Wu Guang, who were among the conscripts, were camp leaders. There was heavy rain, the roads were impassable, and they saw that they could not arrive on time. The penalty for delay was decapitation. Chen She and Wu Guang took stock of the situation.

"Desertion means death and so does revolt," they argued. "Since the risk is the same, why not die for our country?"

"The people have groaned long enough under Qin," said Chen She. "I have heard that the Second Emperor is a younger son and not



【原文】

当立者乃公子扶苏。扶苏以数谏故，上使外将兵。今或闻无罪，二世杀之。百姓多闻其贤，未知其死也。项燕为楚将，数有功，爱士卒，楚人怜之。或以为死，或以为亡。今诚以吾众诈自称公子扶苏、项燕，为天下唱，宜多应者。”吴广以为然。乃行卜。卜者知其指意，曰：“足下事皆成，有功。然足下卜之鬼乎？”陈胜、吴广喜，念鬼，曰：“此教我先威众耳。”乃丹书帛曰“陈胜王”，置人所罾鱼腹中。卒买鱼烹食，得鱼腹中书，固以怪之矣。又间令吴广之次所旁丛祠中，夜篝火，狐鸣呼曰：“大楚兴，陈胜王。”卒皆夜惊恐。旦日，卒中往往语，皆指目陈胜。

【今译】

即位，应当即位的是公子扶苏。扶苏因为多次劝谏的缘故，皇上派他到外地带兵去了。如今有的人听说他没有罪，二世竟然杀死了他。百姓大都听说他是个贤德的人，不知道他已经死了。项燕是楚国的将军，多次立功，爱护士兵，楚国人都爱戴他。有的人认为他已经死了，有的人认为他逃跑了。现在假使我们冒用公子扶苏、项燕的名义，号召天下人起义，响应的人一定很多。”吴广认为很对。于是就去占卜吉凶。占卜的人知道他们的意图，说：“你们的事情都能办成，是有功业的。可是你们问卜过鬼神吗？”陈胜、吴广很高兴，考虑借助鬼神的事情，说：“这是教导我们首先借此取得威望。”于是就用朱砂在白绸子布上写上“陈胜王”三个字，塞进别人用鱼网捕来的鱼肚子里。戍卒们买鱼回来煮着吃，得到鱼肚子中的帛书，感到很奇怪。陈胜又暗中派吴广到驻地旁边一座草木丛生的古庙里，在夜里点起篝火，学着狐狸的声音叫唤道：“大楚兴起了，陈胜做大王。”戍卒们在深夜听到这种叫声都很惊恐。第二天，戍卒们谈起这件事，都指点 and 注视着陈胜。



the rightful heir. Prince Fusu was the rightful heir, but because he often disagreed with his father he was given a frontier command. Now they say the Second Emperor has killed him, although he had done no wrong. Many of the common folk have heard well of him, but do not know of his death. Then there is General Xiang Yan of Chu, who is popular there for his many deeds of daring and the good care he takes of his men. Some say he is dead and some that he may have gone into hiding. If we pretended to be Prince Fusu and Xiang Yan and called on the people to rise, many would respond."

Wu Guang agreed with him and they consulted a diviner, who, knowing what they had in mind, declared, "You will succeed in all you undertake and achieve great deeds. But why not ask aid from the spirits?"

Chen She and Wu Guang, pleased with this suggestion, said, "He means us to awe men first."

So they wrote "Chen She will be king!" in vermilion on silk and placed it in the belly of a fish someone had caught. When the conscripts bought the fish and cooked it, they were amazed to find this writing in its belly.

Chen She secretly sent Wu Guang at night with a lantern to the forest shrine near their camp, to cry like a fox, "Great Chu will rise again! Chen She will be king!"

The conscripts were terrified at hearing this cry at night. The next day they kept talking among themselves with many a side-long glance at Chen She.

【原文】

吴广素爱人，士卒多为用者。将尉醉，广故数言欲亡，忿恚尉，令辱之以激怒其众。尉果笞广。尉剑挺，广起夺而杀尉。陈胜佐之，并杀两尉。召令徒属曰：“公等遇雨，皆已失期，失期当斩。藉弟令毋斩，而戍死者固十六七。且壮士不死即已，死即举大名耳，王侯将相宁有种乎！”徒属皆曰：“敬受命。”乃诈称公子扶苏、项燕，从民欲也。袒右，称大楚。为坛而盟，祭以尉首。陈胜自立为将军，吴广为都尉。攻大泽乡，收而攻蕲。蕲下，乃令符离人葛婴将兵徇蕲以东。攻铚、酈、苦、柘、譙皆下之。行收兵。比至陈，车六七百乘，骑千余，卒数万人。攻陈，陈守令皆不在，独

【今译】

吴广平时爱护人，士卒大多数都愿意为他出力。将尉喝醉了酒，吴广故意多次说要逃跑，来激怒将尉，惹他来侮辱自己，以此来激怒众戍卒。将尉果然鞭打吴广。将尉拔出剑，吴广奋起夺过剑杀死了将尉。陈胜帮助他，一起杀死两个将尉。他们召集并号令众戍卒说：“你等在这里遇上大雨，都已误了限期，误了限期依法应当斩首。假使不被砍头，但将来戍边死了的肯定也有十分之六七。何况壮士不死就罢了，要是死就应该举世扬名，王侯将相难道是祖传的吗！”众戍卒都说：“我们恭敬地听从命令。”于是冒称公子扶苏、项燕的名义举行起义，以顺从民众的意愿。大家袒露右臂作为标志，号称大楚。筑坛盟誓，用将尉的头祭祀上天。陈胜自立为将军，吴广作都尉。先攻打大泽乡，攻克后又进攻蕲城。蕲城投降了，就令符离人葛婴率军攻取蕲城以东的地方。进攻铚城、酈城、苦城、柘城、譙城，都夺取了。边走边招收兵马。等到达陈县的时候，已拥有战车六七百乘，战骑一千多，士兵几万人。攻打陈县，陈县的郡守、县令都不在城内，独



Wu Guang was good to his men, all of whom obeyed him. One day when the commanding officers were drunk, he persuaded the conscripts to run away and goaded the officers to punish him and thus enrage the men. Sure enough, the officers had Wu Guang flogged. But when one of them drew his sword, Wu Guang snatched it away and killed him. Chen She came to his aid and killed the other officer too.

Then they called their men together and said, "This rain has already made all of us late, and the penalty for this is decapitation. Even if we do not lose our heads, seven out of ten will die at the frontier. If a stout fellow must die, let it be for some great cause. How can our birth prevent us from becoming princes and barons, generals and ministers?"

"We will do whatever you say," responded the men.

To win popular support they gave out that their leaders were Prince Fusu and General Xiang Yan. Baring their right arms, they called themselves the army of Great Chu. They built an altar and made an oath, using the officers' heads as sacrifice. Chen She made himself general with Wu Guang as his chief commander. After storming Dazexiang they took the county of Ji and sent Ge Ying of Fuli with troops to take the districts east of Ji. Zhi, Cuo, Ku, Zhe and Jiao all fell to them. As they advanced, their ranks swelled. By the time they reached Chen they had about seven hundred chariots, more than a thousand cavalymen and several tens of thousands of infantry. When they attacked the county seat of Chen the magistrate was away and the deputy magis-



【原文】

守丞与战谯门中。弗胜，守丞死。乃入据陈。数日，号令召三老、豪杰与皆来会计事。三老、豪杰皆曰：“将军身被坚执锐，伐无道，诛暴秦，复立楚国之社稷，功宜为王。”陈涉乃立为王，号为张楚。

当此时，诸郡县苦秦吏者，皆刑其长吏，杀之以应陈涉。乃以吴叔为假王，监诸将以西击荥阳。令陈人武臣、张耳、陈余徇赵地，令汝阴人邓宗徇九江郡。当此时，楚兵数千人为聚者，不可胜数。

葛婴至东城，立襄强为楚王。婴后闻陈王已立，因杀襄强，还报。至陈，陈王诛杀葛婴。陈王令魏人周市北徇魏地。吴广围荥

【今译】

有守丞领兵与陈胜大军在谯门内交战。守丞兵败身死，陈胜军于是入城占据了陈县。过了几天，陈胜号令召集德高望众的三老、豪杰都来开会议事。三老、豪杰们都说：“将军身披铠甲，手持锐器，讨伐无道昏君，诛灭暴虐的秦国，重新建立了楚国的社稷，论功劳应该称王。”陈涉于是自立为王，国号张楚。

就在这时，各郡县不堪忍受秦朝官吏暴政的人，都逮捕宣判秦朝官吏的罪状，杀死他们来响应陈涉。于是就以吴广作假王，监督、率领各将领西去进击荥阳。命令陈县人武臣、张耳、陈余攻占赵县地区，命令汝阴人邓宗攻占九江郡。这时，楚地几千人聚在一起举行起义的，多得不可胜数。

葛婴到了东城，拥立襄强为楚王。葛婴后来听说陈胜已经做了陈王，因此就杀了襄强，回去向陈王报告。来到陈县，陈王诛杀了葛婴。陈王命令魏县人周市北去攻占魏地。吴广围攻荥阳。



trate held the city gate against them. But they defeated the defenders, killed the deputy magistrate and occupied the city. A few days later they summoned the elders and chief citizens to a conference.

"My lord," said these men, "you have come wearing armour and carrying sharp weapons to attack an unjust government, to punish the Qin tyranny and re-establish the kingdom of Chu. Your achievements fit you to be our king."

So Chen She made himself king, calling himself the Magnifier of Chu. Thereupon all in the provinces and counties who hated the rule of Qin rose against their governors and magistrates and killed them in order to follow Chen She's lead. Wu Guang, made vice-regent over the other generals, advanced west against Xingyang. Chen She also ordered Wu Chen, Zhang Er and Chen Yu, all natives of Chen, to conquer Zhao, and Deng Zong of Ruyin to take the province of Jiujiang. By this time Chu had countless bands of troops, each several thousand strong.

When Ge Ying reached Dongcheng he set up Xiang Qiang as king of Chu. Later, hearing that Chen She had proclaimed himself king, he killed Xiang Qiang and went back to report. But when he reached Chen, Chen She had him executed. Then Chen She sent Zhou Shi, a



【原文】

阳。李由为三川守，守荥阳，吴叔弗能下。陈王征国之豪杰与计，以上蔡人房君蔡赐为上柱国。

周文，陈之贤人也，尝为项燕军视日，事春申君，自言习兵，陈王与之将军印，西击秦。行收兵至关，车千乘，卒数十万，至戏，军焉。秦令少府章邯免郿山徒、人奴产子生，悉发以击楚大军，尽败之。周文败，走出关，止次曹阳二三月。章邯追败之，复走次渑池十余日。章邯击，大破之。周文自刭，军遂不战。

武臣到邯郸，自立为赵王，陈余为大将军，张耳、召骚为左、右丞相。陈王怒，捕系武臣等家室，欲诛之。柱国曰：“秦未亡而诛赵王将相家属，此生一秦也。不如因而立之。”陈王乃遣使者贺

【今译】

李由做了三川郡守，守卫荥阳，吴广不能攻克。陈王征召国内的豪杰，与他们一起商议对策，任用上蔡人房君蔡赐做上柱国。

周文是陈县贤能的人，曾经为项燕军队观察天象，卜算吉凶，侍奉过春申君，自言熟悉军事，陈王给他将军印，西去进击秦军。他边走边招收兵马，到达函谷关的时候，有兵车千乘，士兵几十万人，到了戏亭，驻扎下来。秦朝命令少府章邯赦免在郿山服罪的刑徒、家奴生的儿子，全都调来抗击周文所率领的张楚大军，把楚军击败。周文战败，逃出函谷关，在曹阳停留两三个月。章邯追赶又打败了他们，周文又逃到渑池，住了十几天。章邯进击，又一次大破周文。周文自杀，他的军队不能再作战了。

武臣到了邯郸，自立为赵王，陈余为大将军，张耳、召骚为左右丞相。陈王恼怒，逮捕关押武臣等人家室，打算诛杀他们。柱国蔡赐说：“秦朝还没有灭亡而诛杀赵王将相的家属，这等于又生出一个敌对的秦国。不如顺势就立了他。”陈王于是派遣使者



native of Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), to conquer Wei in the north. Wu Guang laid siege to Xingyang but the city was defended by Li You, governor of Sanchuan, and he could not take it.

Chen She summoned all the chief citizens of his kingdom to a conference and appointed Cai Ci, lord of Fang a native of Shangcai, as his chief minister.

Zhou Wen, a talented citizen of Chen, had been the astrologer in General Xiang Yan's army and had also served under the lord of Chunshen. As he claimed that he was well-versed in strategy, Chen She gave him the seal of a general and ordered him to strike west at Qin. He gathered troops on his way to the Hangu Pass till he had a thousand chariots and several tens of thousands of men, and he stationed this army by the River Xi.

Qin ordered its privy treasurer, Zhang Han, to free the conscript labourers and slaves at Mount Li and send them to counter-attack. The Chu army was routed and Zhou Wen fled back through the Pass to station his men at Caoyang. After two or three months Zhang Han came after him and defeated him again. Then Zhou Wen stationed his troops at Minchi; but after ten days or so Zhang Han attacked once more and utterly routed them. Zhou Wen fell on his sword and his troops were put out of action.

When Wu Chen reached Handan, he made himself king of Zhao with Chen Yu as his grand marshal and Zhang Er and Shao Sao as his senior and junior chancellors. Chen She in anger arrested their relations, meaning to have them killed, but his chief minister Cai Ci protested, "Qin is not yet overthrown. If you execute the families of the king of Zhao and his ministers, you are only making another enemy. You had better recognize him as king."



【原文】

赵，而徙系武臣等家属宫中，而封耳子张敖为成都君，趣赵兵亟入关。赵王将相相与谋曰：“王王赵，非楚意也。楚已诛秦，必加兵于赵。计莫如毋西兵，使使北徇燕地以自广也。赵南据大河，北有燕、代，楚虽胜秦，不敢制赵。若楚不胜秦，必重赵。赵乘秦之弊，可以得志于天下。”赵王以为然，因不西兵，而遣故上谷卒史韩广将兵北徇燕地。

燕故贵人豪杰谓韩广曰：“楚已立王，赵又已立王。燕虽小，亦万乘之国也，愿将军立为燕王。”韩广曰：“广母在赵，不可。”燕人曰：“赵方西忧秦，南忧楚，其力不能禁我。且以楚之

【今译】

前去祝贺赵王，而把武臣等人家属迁移到宫中软禁，并封张耳的儿子张敖为成都君，催促赵军赶快入函谷关。赵王武臣的将相互相商议说：“大王在赵地称王，不合张楚的意愿。张楚在诛灭秦王朝以后，一定会对赵国用兵。最好的计策，不如不向西边用兵，而派人往北征伐燕地来扩大自己的地盘。赵国南部占据黄河，北部拥有燕地、代地，楚国即使战胜秦国，它也不敢制服赵国。如果楚国不能战胜秦国，一定尊重赵国。赵国乘着秦国的疲敝，就可以称霸天下了。”赵王认为是对的，因此不向西用兵，而派遣原上谷的卒史韩广率兵北去攻占燕地。

燕地原来的贵族豪杰对韩广说：“楚国已经立了国王，赵国也已经立了国王。燕地虽然小，也是个有万乘战车的大国，希望将军自立为燕王。”韩广说：“我的母亲在赵国，不可以这样做。”燕地人说：“赵国现正在西面忧虑秦国，南面忧虑楚国，它的力量不能限制我们燕国。况且以楚国的强大，还不敢加害赵



So Chen She sent an envoy to congratulate Wu Chen, moved his relatives and those of his ministers into his palace, enfeoffed Zhang Er's son Zhang Ao as lord of Chengdu, and urged the troops of Zhao to advance at once against Qin.

Wu Chen took counsel with his generals and ministers, who said, "It was not Chen She's plan that you should be king of Zhao. After he has overthrown Qin he will attack us. Instead of advancing west, we had better conquer Yan in the north in order to enlarge our territory. When we have the Yellow River in the south and Yan and Dai in the north, even if Chen She defeats Qin he will not dare to lord it over us. And should he fail to defeat Qin, he will have to respect us. Then we can take advantage of the fall of Qin to do whatever we please."

Wu Chen agreed with them. Instead of advancing west, he sent Han Guang, former army secretary of Shanggu, to conquer Yan in the north.

Then the nobles and chief citizens of Yan advised Han Guang saying, "Now Chu has set up a king and so has Zhao. Though Yan is small, it was also once a kingdom of ten thousand chariots. We hope you will set yourself up as king of Yan."

"I cannot," said Han Guang. "My mother is still in Zhao."

"Zhao fears Qin in the west and Chu in the south," they replied. "It is in no position to interfere with us. Besides even Chu, for all its strength, dared not harm the family of the king of Zhao. How could



【原文】

强，不敢害赵王将相之家，赵独安敢害将军之家！”韩广以为然，乃自立为燕王。居数月，赵奉燕王母及家属归之燕。

当此之时，诸将之徇地者，不可胜数。周市北徇地至狄，狄人田儋杀狄令，自立为齐王，以齐反，击周市。市军散，还至魏地，欲立魏后故宁陵君咎为魏王。时咎在陈王所，不得之魏。魏地已定，欲相与立周市为魏王，周市不肯。使者五反，陈王乃立宁陵君咎为魏王，遣之国。周市卒为相。

将军田臧等相与谋曰：“周章军已破矣，秦兵旦暮至，我围荥阳城弗能下，秦军至，必大败。不如少遗兵，足以守荥阳，悉精兵迎秦军。令假王骄，不知兵权，不可与计，非诛之，事恐败。”因

【今译】

王及将相的家属，赵国怎么敢加害将军的家属呢！”韩广认为是这样，于是自立为燕王。过了几个月，赵国把燕王的母亲及其家属护送到燕国。

在这个时候，到各地去攻城占地的将领，不可胜数。周市北上攻占到狄县，狄县人田儋杀死狄县令，自立为齐王，凭借齐国力量反叛，进击周市。周市军队溃散，退回到魏地，想拥立原来的魏王的后代原宁陵君咎做魏王。当时宁陵君咎在陈王那里，不能够回到魏地。魏地已经平定，打算拥立周市为魏王，周市不愿意。派使者五次去陈王那里请求，陈王才立宁陵君咎为魏王，把他送回国。周市最后做了魏相。

将军田臧等人互相谋划说：“周章的军队已经溃败了，秦国大军早晚就要到来，我们围攻荥阳城不能取下，秦国军队一到，一定会把我们打得大败。不如留下少量军队，来继续围守荥阳，用全部精锐部队去迎击秦军。如今假王骄横，不懂得军事，无法和他商议计事，不杀死他，我们的计划恐怕会失败。”于是便一起



the king of Zhao dare harm yours?"

Han Guang took their advice and made himself king of Yan. A few months later Zhao sent Han Guang's mother and the rest of his family to him.

During this period many generals made conquests. Zhou Shi marched north and conquered the land up to the district of Di. A man of Di named Tian Dan, who had killed the magistrate of Di and made himself king of Qi, attacked and routed Zhou Shi with the forces of Qi. Zhou Shi returned to Wei and wanted to enthrone Jiu, former lord of Ningling and a descendant of the House of Wei. But Jiu was then in Chen She's territory and could not come to Wei. After Wei was conquered, therefore, the people tried to make Zhou Shi their king, but he refused. Five times they sent envoys to Chen She, until finally he agreed to make the lord of Ningling the king of Wei and sent him back to his kingdom. Zhou Shi in the end became his chancellor.

Tian Zang and some other generals plotted together saying, "Now that Zhou Wen's army has been routed, the troops of Qin may be here any time. We are besieging Xingyang but cannot take it. If the Qin army comes, we shall certainly be beaten. We had better leave a few troops to defend our position here, and advance with all our best men against Qin. This vice-regent is proud and knows nothing about fighting. We must not discuss this with him. Unless we kill him, we are hardly likely to succeed."



【原文】

相与矫王令以诛吴叔，献其首于陈王。陈王使使赐田臧楚令尹印，使为上将。田臧乃使诸将李归等守荥阳城，自以精兵西迎秦军于敖仓。与战，田臧死，军破。章邯进兵击李归等荥阳下，破之，李归等死。

阳城人邓说将兵居郟，章邯别将击破之，邓说军散走陈。铄人伍徐将兵居许，章邯击破之，伍徐军皆散走陈。陈王诛邓说。

陈王初立时，陵人秦嘉、铄人董继、符离人朱鸡石、取虑人郑布、徐人丁疾等皆特起，将兵围东海守庆于郟。陈王闻，乃使武平君畔为将军，监郟下军。秦嘉不受命，嘉自立为大司马，恶属武平君。告军吏曰：“武平君年少，不知兵事，勿听！”因矫以

【今译】

假冒陈王之命杀了吴广，把他的头呈献给陈王。陈王派使者赐予田臧楚国令尹之印，让他做上将军。田臧于是派诸将李归等人围守荥阳城，自己率精兵西去敖仓迎击秦军。双方交战，田臧战死，田臧的军队被攻破。章邯领兵趁机到荥阳城下攻打李归等人，攻破了李归军队，李归等人战死。

阳城人邓说率军驻扎在郟地，被章邯的另一位将领击破了，邓说军队溃散逃跑到陈县。铄人伍徐率军驻扎在许地，章邯击破了他，伍徐的军队全部溃散逃到陈地。陈王诛杀了邓说。

陈王当初自立为王时，陵人秦嘉、铄人董继、符离人朱鸡石、取虑人郑布、徐人丁疾等都各自起兵反秦，他们率军在郟县把东海郡的守令庆围困在郟城。陈王听说后，就派武平君畔作为将军，监督郟城下的军队。秦嘉不接受陈王的命令，自立为大司马，讨厌从属于武平君。他告诉军吏说：“武平君年纪轻，不懂得



Pretending to be acting on Chen She's orders, they killed Wu Guang and presented his head to Chen She. Then Chen She sent an envoy to give Tian Zang the seal of the chancellor of Chu and appointed him as a high marshal. Tian Zang ordered Li Gui and the other generals to defend Xingyang, while he led picked troops west to attack the Qin army at Aocang, but in the battle that ensued Tian Zang was killed and his army defeated. Then Zhang Han advanced to attack Li Gui and the others before the city of Xingyang, defeating and killing them too.

Deng Yue of Yangcheng, in command of troops at Tan, was defeated by an auxiliary force sent by Zhang Han. His army scattered and he fled to the city of Chen. Wu Xu of Zhi, in command of forces at Xu, was also defeated by Zhang Han and fled to Chen. But Chen She had him executed.

When Chen She first declared himself king, Qin Jia of Ling, Dong Xie of Zhi, Zhu Jishi of Fuli, Zheng Bu of Qulü and Ding Ji of Xu all raised troops and besieged Qing, governor of Donghai, at Tan. When Chen She knew this, he appointed Pan, lord of Wuping, as general in charge of all the forces at Tan. Qin Jia would not accept this, however, but made himself the commander-in-chief, refusing to take orders from the lord of Wuping.

"The lord of Wuping is too young," he told his officers. "He has no military experience. We must not listen to him." Pretending to act



【原文】

王命，杀武平君畔。

章邯已破伍徐，击陈，柱国房君死。章邯又进兵击陈西张贺军。陈王出监战，军破，张贺死。

腊月，陈王之汝阴，还至下城父，其御庄贾杀以降秦。陈胜葬殤，谥曰隐王。

陈王故涓人将军吕臣为苍头军，起新阳，攻陈下之，杀庄贾，复以陈为楚。

初，陈王至陈，令铨人宋留将兵定南阳，入武关。留已徇南阳，闻陈王死，南阳复为秦。宋留不能入武关，乃东至新蔡，遇秦军，宋留以军降秦。秦傅留至咸阳，车裂留以徇。

秦嘉等闻陈王军破出走，乃立景驹为楚王，引兵之方与，欲

【今译】

军事，不可听他的！”乘机假托陈王的命令，杀死武平君畔。

章邯在打败伍徐军队以后，进击陈县，上柱国房君蔡赐战死。章邯又进军攻打陈县西边的张贺军队。陈王出来督战，结果楚军被攻破，张贺战死。

腊月，陈王退到汝阴，回到下城父，陈王的御车人庄贾杀死他投降了秦国。陈胜被葬在殤地，谥号叫隐王。

陈王原来的近臣将军吕臣，组织了一支头戴青布帽的苍头军，在新阳起兵攻下了陈县，杀死了庄贾，又以陈县为楚都。

当初，陈王到了陈地，命令铨人宋留率军平定南阳，进入武关。宋留已经攻占了南阳，听说陈王死了，南阳又被秦国收复。宋留不能进入武关，于是东到新蔡，遭遇秦军，宋留带领军队投降了秦军。秦军押送宋留到了咸阳，车裂宋留示众。

秦嘉等人听说陈王军队溃败出逃，于是拥立景驹为楚王，带



on orders from Chen She, he had the lord of Wuping executed.

After defeating Wu Xu, Zhang Han attacked the city of Chen and killed Cai Ci, Chen She's field marshal. He then advanced to attack Zhang He's army west of the city. Chen She himself came out to direct the battle, but his army was defeated and Zhang He killed.

In the twelfth month Chen She went to Ruyin, then turned back to Xiachengfu, where his charioteer Zhuang Jia killed him and surrendered to Qin. Chen She was buried at Dang with the posthumous title of King Yin.

Chen She's former palace attendant, General Lü Chen, rallied troops to form a black-turbaned army at Xinyang. He took Chen, killed Zhuang Jia and made Chen into the state of Chu again.

When Chen She first reached Chen, he sent Song Liu of Zhi with troops to conquer Nanyang and advance through the Wu Pass. Song Liu had taken Nanyang, but after Chen She's death it fell under Qin's control again and he could not enter the Wu Pass. Instead he went east to Xincui, where he encountered the Qin army and surrendered with all his men. He was sent to Xianyang and torn limb from limb by chariots to serve as a warning to others.

After Qin Jia and his men heard of Chen She's defeat and fight, they made Jing Ju king of Chu and advanced with troops to Fangyu to



【原文】

击秦军定陶下。使公孙庆使齐王，欲与并力俱进。齐王曰：“闻陈王战败，不知其死生，楚安得不请而立王！”公孙庆曰：“齐不请楚而立王，楚何故请齐而立王！且楚首事，当令于天下。”田儋诛杀公孙庆。

秦左右校复攻陈，下之。吕将军走，收兵复聚，鄱盗当阳君黥布之兵相收，复击秦左右校，破之青波，复以陈为楚。会项梁立怀王孙心为楚王。

陈胜王凡六月。已为王，王陈。其故人尝与庸耕者闻之，之陈，扣宫门曰：“吾欲见涉。”宫门令欲缚之。自辩数，乃置，不

【今译】

领军队来到方与，打算在定陶城下袭击秦国军队。派公孙庆出使齐国，想和齐军齐心协力一同攻打秦军。齐王说：“听说陈王战败，不知他是死是活，楚国怎么能够不来向我请示就立了楚王！”公孙庆说：“齐国不请示楚国就自立国王了，楚国为什么要请示齐国而后才可以立国王呢！况且楚国是第一个起事的，应当号令天下。”田儋杀死公孙庆。

秦国的左右校尉再次攻打陈县，夺取了它。吕臣将军失败逃走，重新集结兵马，与当年鄱阳为盗后来封为当阳君的黥布的军队联合起来，又进击秦国的左右校尉率领的军队，在青波打败了秦军，又将陈县作为楚都。这时正逢项梁拥立楚怀王的孙子心为楚王。

陈胜作楚王前后共六个月。他起义称王，是在陈县称王。过去曾经和他一起受雇佣给人家耕田的朋友听说他做了王，就到陈县找他，扣打宫门说：“我想见陈涉。”守宫门的官吏要捆绑他。辩解了好一阵子才放了他，但是不肯替他通报。陈王出来，他拦



attack the Qin army at Dingtao. They sent Gongsun Qing to Tian Dan, king of Qi, asking him to join forces with them.

"We do not know whether Chen She is alive after his defeat," said Tian Dan. "How could you appoint another king of Chu without consulting us?"

"You set yourself up as king in Qi without asking us," retorted Gongsun Qing. "Why should we consult you? Besides, as Chu started the revolt, she should be the leader of all the other states."

At this Tian Dan had Gongsun Qing killed.

The left and right armies of Qin attacked and retook the city of Chen. General Lü Chen fled but rallied his troops and was joined by Ying Bu, lord of Dangyang, who was one of the brigands of Po. Having defeated the Qin army at Qingbo, they once again made Chen into the state of Chu. Then Xiang Liang appointed as king of Chu Xin, the grandson of King Huai of Chu.

Chen She was king for six months in all, with his capital at Chen. When one of the men who had been an agricultural labourer with him heard this, he went to Chen and knocked on the palace gate.

"I've come to see She!" he said.

The chief palace gate-keeper wanted to arrest him. After lengthy explanations he let him go, but still refused to announce him. So when

【原文】

肯为通。陈王出，遮道而呼涉。陈王闻之，乃召见，载与俱归。入宫，见殿屋帷帐，客曰：“夥颐！涉之为王沈沈者！”楚人谓多为夥，故天下传之，夥涉为王，由陈涉始。客出入愈益发舒，言陈王故情。或说陈王曰：“客愚无知，颛妄言，轻威。”陈王斩之。诸陈王故人皆自引去，由是无亲陈王者。陈王以朱房为中正，胡武为司过，主司群臣。诸将徇地，至，令之不是者，系而罪之，以苛察为忠。其所不善者，弗下吏，辄自治之。陈王信用之。诸将以其故不亲附。此其所以败也。

陈胜虽已死，其所置遣侯王将相竟亡秦，由涉首事也。高祖

【今译】

着路呼叫陈涉。陈王听见了，才召见他，和他同乘一辆车子回宫了。进入宫门，见到殿堂房屋和室内张挂的帐幔，客人说：“夥颐！陈涉做了国王，宫殿真高大深邃啊！”楚地人称“多”为“夥”，所以天下流传说这样一句话：夥涉为王，就是从陈涉开始的。客人进进出出更加放肆，逢人就说他与陈王原来的交情。有人劝告陈王说：“客人愚昧无知，专门胡言乱语，有损于您的威严。”陈王就把那个客人斩首了。从此以后，陈王的那些故旧知交都纷纷自行离去，没有再亲近陈王的人了。陈王用朱房为中正，胡武为司过，专管考核、纠察群臣。诸位将领攻占土地，回来复命，凡是有不遵从命令的，都要抓起来治罪，以苛刻考察群臣的过失当作对陈王的忠诚。朱房、胡武所认为不好的，不交给下面有关的执法官吏治罪，总是自行治罪。陈王很信任他们。众位将领因为这个缘故不亲附陈王。这就是陈王失败的原因。

陈胜虽然已经死了，他所封立派遣的侯王将相终于灭亡了秦国，这是由于陈涉首先起义反秦的结果。汉高祖时，在碭县安置



Chen She went out, this fellow blocked his way and shouted his name. The king, hearing his voice, called him over and took him back in his own chariot to the palace, where at sight of the great halls and hangings the man exclaimed, "Whew, Chen She! You're wallowing in wealth, now you're a king!" (The people of Chu say "Whew!" when they feel overwhelmed. This is how the expression, "Whew! Even Chen She can be king!" spread over the whole country.)

This old friend took to wandering in and out of the palace quite freely and telling stories about Chen She's past. Someone warned the king, "This ignorant fool with his careless talk is damaging your prestige." Chen She then had him beheaded, and after that all his old friends went away and nobody else got on close terms with him again.

Chen She had appointed Zhu Fang his supervisor and Hu Wu his censor to keep watch over his minister and officers. When victorious generals came back, these two men could arrest and punish them if they had not obeyed orders. Indeed, they regarded fault-finding as such a proof of loyalty that instead of sending men to the proper authorities they tried them themselves. As Chen She placed so much trust in these two he lost the support of his generals. This was why he failed.

Although Chen She himself was killed, it was he who started the revolt and the nobles, kings, generals and officials whom he appointed and sent out succeeded in overthrowing Qin. In the time of Emperor

【原文】

时，为陈涉置守冢三十家殍，至今血食。

【今译】

三十户人家为陈涉守墓，至今仍按时杀猪宰羊祭祀他。



Gaozu of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), thirty families were put in charge of his grave at Dang, where sacrifices to him continue to this day.

¹ 209 B.C.





留侯世家

【原文】

留侯张良者，其先韩人也。大父开地，相韩昭侯、宣惠王、襄哀王。父平，相釐王、悼惠王。悼惠王二十三年，平卒。卒二十岁，秦灭韩。良年少，未宦事韩。韩破，良家僮三百人，弟死不葬，悉以家财求客刺秦王，为韩报仇。以大父、父五世相韩故。

良尝学礼淮阳。东见仓海君，得力士，为铁锤重百二十斤。秦皇帝东游，良与客狙击秦皇帝博浪沙中，误中副车。秦皇帝大怒，大索天下，求贼甚急，为张良故也。良乃更名姓，

【今译】

留侯张良，他的祖先是韩国人。祖父开地做过韩昭侯、宣惠王、襄哀王的相国。父亲张平，做过釐王、悼惠王的相国。悼惠王二十三年（公元前250年），张平去世。他死后二十年，秦国灭亡了韩国。张良年少，未曾在韩国做过官。韩国灭亡时，张良家有仆僮三百人，弟弟死了没以厚礼安葬，而是把全部家财求买刺杀秦王的刺客，为韩国报仇，因为他的祖父、父亲做过五代韩王相国的缘故。

张良曾经在淮阳学习礼法。东去拜见仓海君，得到一位大力士，为他打造一个一百二十斤重的大铁锤。秦始皇巡游东方，张良和大力士埋伏等候，在博浪沙袭击秦始皇，结果误中了秦始皇侍从所乘的车。秦始皇大怒，大肆搜索天下，捉拿刺客非常紧急，就是为了张良的缘故。张良于是更名改姓，逃到



Zhang Liang, Marquis of Liu

The ancestors of Zhang Liang, marquis of Liu, came from the state of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.). His grandfather Kaidi served as prime minister to Marquis Zhao, King Xuanhui and King Xiangai of Han. His father Ping was prime minister to King Xi and King Daohui. Zhang Ping died in the twenty-third year of King Daohui,¹ and twenty years later Han was conquered by Qin. Zhang Liang, still young, held no official position in Han. At the time of the fall of Han he still had three hundred slaves, yet when his younger brother died he did not bury him but used his patrimony to find an assassin who would kill the king of Qin to avenge his state, because his grandfather and father had been ministers of Han during five reigns.

Zhang Liang went east to study ceremony at Huaiyang, where he met lord Canghai and found a strong man whom he armed with an iron hammer one hundred and twenty catties in weight. When the First Emperor of Qin made a tour of the east, Zhang Liang and the assassin attacked him at Bolangsha, but by mistake struck at his attendant's carriage. In fact, Zhang Liang was the cause of the urgent, countrywide search for brigands ordered by the emperor in his rage. But Zhang Liang escaped to Xiapi and went into hiding under an assumed name.

【原文】

亡匿下邳。

良尝闲从容步游下邳圯上，有一老父，衣褐，至良所，直堕其履圯下，顾谓良曰：“孺子，下取履！”良鄂然，欲殴之。为其老，强忍，下取履。父曰：“履我！”良业为取履，因长跪履之。父以足受，笑而去。良殊大惊，随目之。父去里所，复还，曰：“孺子可教矣！后五日平明，与我会此。”良因怪之，跪曰：“诺。”五日平明，良往。父已先在，怒曰：“与老人期，后，何也？”去，曰：“后五日早会。”五日鸡鸣，良往。父又先在，复怒曰：“后，何也？”去，曰：“后五日复早来。”五日，良夜未半

【今译】

下邳躲藏起来。

张良曾经在闲暇时候，从容信步游览下邳桥上，有一位老父，身穿粗布短衣，来到张良面前，故意把他的鞋子掉到桥下，回过头来对张良说：“小子，下去把我的鞋子取上来！”张良很惊讶，想殴打他。因为看他年老，强力忍怒，下桥去取鞋子。老父说：“替我穿上鞋！”张良心想既然已经替他取上来鞋子，因此就跪着为他穿鞋。老父把脚伸过来接受张良给他穿鞋，而后笑着离去。张良特别吃惊，目视着老父的身影。老父走了一里左右路，又返了回来，说：“小子是可以教导的啊！五天后天刚亮时，与我在此会面。”张良于是感到奇怪，跪下说：“遵命。”五天后天刚亮，张良前往。老父已经早到了，发怒说：“与老人约会，晚到，为什么？”老父离去，并说：“五天后早一点来相会。”五天后，鸡叫时，张良前往。老父又早到了，又发怒说：“晚到，为什么？”老父离去，又说：“五天后再早一点来。”五天后，张良半



One day he was strolling idly across the bridge at Xiapi when an old man in rough homespun approached, dropped a shoe under the bridge and, turning to Zhang Liang, said, "Boy! Go down, and fetch my slipper!" Zhang Liang was astounded and wanted to hit the fellow. But controlling himself on account of the other's age, he went down to fetch the shoe.

"Put it on for me," ordered the old man. And since Zhang Liang had already fetched the shoe, he knelt down to put it on. The old man stretched out his foot for it, then left with a smile while Zhang Liang watched in amazement. After going some distance the old man came back. "You can be taught, boy," he said. "Meet me here five days from now at dawn."

Zhang Liang, his curiosity aroused, knelt down to answer, "I will."

At dawn five days later he went back to the place. The old man, there before him, said angrily, "What do you mean by keeping an old man waiting? Come earlier five days from now." With that he left.

Five days later Zhang Liang went earlier, only to find the old man already there. He was told to come back after another five days.

This time Zhang Liang went before midnight. Presently the old



【原文】

往。有顷，父亦来，喜曰：“当如是。”出一编书，曰：“读此则为王者师矣。后十年兴。十三年孺子见我济北，谷城山下黄石即我矣。”遂去，无他言，不复见。旦日，视其书，乃《太公兵法》也。良因异之，常习诵读之。

居下邳，为任侠。项伯常杀人，从良匿。

后十年，陈涉等起兵，良亦聚少年百余人。景驹自立为楚假王，在留。良欲往从之，道遇沛公。沛公将数千人，略地下邳西，遂属焉。沛公拜良为厖将。良数以《太公兵法》说沛公，沛公善之，常用其策。良为他人言，皆不省。良曰：“沛公殆天授。”故遂从之，不去见景驹。

【今译】

夜起来前往。过了一会儿，老父也来了，高兴地说：“应当这样。”拿出一本书，说：“读懂它就可以作帝王的老师了。十年后会发迹的。十三年后小子在济北见我，谷城山下面的黄石就是我。”于是老父离去，没再说别的话，从此再没见到他。天亮时一看这本书，原来是《太公兵法》。张良因此感到此书非同一般，经常学习、诵读它。

张良居住下邳，仗义行侠。项伯曾经杀人，跟随张良躲藏。

过了十年，陈涉等起兵反秦，张良也聚集少年一百余人。景驹自立为楚代理王，驻在留县。张良打算前往跟随他，途中遇上沛公。沛公率领几千人，夺取下邳西边的土地，张良于是跟随了沛公。沛公拜张良为厖将。张良多次用《太公兵法》游说沛公，沛公很赏识他，经常采用他的计策。张良对别人讲兵法，都不省悟。张良说：“沛公大概是上天授予他才智。”因此跟随沛公，不去拜见景驹。



man arrived. "That's right!" he said approvingly and handed him a book with the injunction, "Read this and you will become the teacher of kings. Ten years from now you will prosper. Thirteen years from now you will once more encounter me, as the yellow rock at the foot of Mount Gucheng north of the River Ji." Without another word he left and did not appear again.

When day broke Zhang Liang examined the book and found it was *The Patriarch Lü Shang's Art of War*. Prizing this work, he pored over it again and again. He remained in Xiapi as a champion of justice and helped to conceal Xiang Bo after he killed a man.

Ten years later Chen She and the others revolted, and Zhang Liang gathered a band of more than a hundred young men. When Jing Ju made himself the acting king of Chu in Liu, Zhang Liang decided to join him; but on the way he met Liu Bang, then in command of several thousand men who were conquering the region west of Xiapi, and he threw in his lot with him. Liu Bang made him a cavalry officer. Zhang Liang expounded *The Patriarch Lü Shang's Art of War* to him on several occasions and he approved of the book and made use of its strategies, although Zhang Liang found others could not understand them. Struck by Liu Bang's natural genius, he followed him instead of joining Jing Ju.



【原文】

及沛公之薛，见项梁。项梁立楚怀王。良乃说项梁曰：“君已立楚后，而韩诸公子横阳君成贤，可立为王，益树党。”项梁使良求韩成，立以为韩王。以良为韩司徒，与韩王将千余人西略韩地。得数城，秦辄复取之，往来为游兵颍川。

沛公之从洛阳南出轩辕，良引兵从沛公，下韩十余城，击破杨熊军。沛公乃令韩王成留守阳翟，与良俱南，攻下宛，西入武关。沛公欲以兵二万人击秦峽下军，良说曰：“秦兵尚强，未可轻。臣闻其将屠者子，贾竖易动以利。愿沛公且留壁，使人先行，为五万人具食，益为张旗帜诸山上，为疑兵，令郾食其持重宝啖秦将。”

【今译】

等到沛公来到薛县，会见项梁。项梁拥立了楚怀王。张良于是游说项梁说：“您已经立了楚王的后代，而韩国诸公子中横阳君成贤德，可以立为王，增加同盟者的力量。”项梁派张良寻求韩成，拥立为韩王。任用张良为韩国司徒，与韩王率领一千多人西去攻取韩国原来的土地。夺取了数座城池，秦国总是再夺回去，韩军往来游动于颍川地区。

沛公从洛阳南穿过轩辕山时，张良领兵跟随沛公，攻下韩国十余座城邑，击破了杨熊的军队。沛公于是让韩王成留守阳翟，自己与张良一起往南，攻下宛县，西入武关。沛公打算用二万军队进击秦朝的峽关下的军队，张良劝说道：“秦军还很强，不可以轻敌。我听说那位守关的将领是屠夫的儿子，这种商人型的人是可以利用利买动他的心的。希望沛公暂且留守军营，派人先行，为五万人准备吃的东西，在各山头张挂很多旗帜，作为疑军，派郾食其拿着贵重宝物去收买秦国守关的将领。”秦将果然背叛秦



When Liu Bang went to Xue to see Xiang Liang, who had set up King Huai of Chu, Zhang Liang advised Xiang Liang saying, "You have enthroned a descendant of the royal house of Chu. Lord Cheng of Hengyang of the House of Han is also a worthy man. If you make him a king you will win another ally."

So Xiang Liang sent him to find Lord Cheng and make him king of Han with Zhang Liang as his minister. Zhang Liang went with the king of Han and over a thousand men to conquer the territory of Han in the west, but each time they took a city the army of Qin recaptured it. So they carried on mobile warfare in Yingchuan.

When Liu Bang marched south from Luoyang through Xuanyuan, Zhang Liang led his men to join him and together they captured more than ten cities of Han and routed Yang Xiong's army. Then Liu Bang ordered King Cheng of Han to defend Yangdi while he went south with Zhang Liang and stormed Wan before advancing west through the Wu Pass. He planned to lead twenty thousand men against the forces of Qin at the Yao Pass, but Zhang Liang said, "Don't underestimate the men of Qin — they are still a powerful force. I hear their general is a butcher's son, and stradesmen are easily tempted by gain. Why not entrench yourself here, send a force ahead with provisions for fifty thousand and set up banners on all the hills around to dismay the enemy, while Li Yiji goes with rich gifts to bribe him?"

The Qin general did in fact surrender and offered to advance west



【原文】

秦将果叛，欲连和俱西袭咸阳，沛公欲听之。良曰：“此独其将欲叛耳，恐士卒不从。不从必危，不如因其懈击之。”沛公乃引兵击秦军，大破之。遂北至蓝田，再战，秦兵竟败。遂至咸阳，秦王子婴降沛公。

沛公入秦宫，宫室、帷帐、狗马、重宝、妇女以千数，意欲留居之。樊哙谏沛公出舍，沛公不听。良曰：“夫秦为无道，故沛公得至此。夫为天下除残贼，宜缟素为资。今始入秦，即安其乐，此所谓‘助桀为虐’。且‘忠言逆耳利于行，毒药苦口利于病’，愿沛公听樊哙言！”沛公乃还军霸上。

项羽至鸿门下，欲击沛公，项伯乃夜驰入沛公军，私见张良，

【今译】

朝，想与沛公军队联合，一起西去袭击咸阳，沛公想采纳他的意见。张良说：“这只是秦将准备反叛罢了，恐怕士兵不顺从。士兵不顺从一定危险，不如乘他们懈怠，我们去攻打他们。”沛公于是率军袭击秦军，把他们打得大败。沛公追赶他们往北到达蓝田，再次交战，秦军终于溃败。沛公于是率军来到咸阳，秦王子婴投降了沛公。

沛公进入秦朝宫殿，宫室中有帷帐、狗、马、贵重宝器、娇美妇女数以千计，沛公见此想留居宫中。樊哙劝谏沛公出去居住，沛公不听。张良说：“秦王室昏庸无道，所以沛公得以至此。替天下铲除残暴逆乱，应当以俭朴清廉为本。现在刚进入秦王宫，就想安逸享乐，这就是所说的‘助桀为虐’。而且‘忠言逆耳利于行，良药苦口利于病’，希望沛公听樊哙的劝说吧！”沛公于是回军驻扎在霸上。

项羽来到鸿门下，想袭击沛公，项伯于是连夜乘马驰入沛公



with Liu Bang against Xianyang. Liu Bang would have agreed, but Zhang Liang warned, "The general is willing to surrender but I doubt if his troops will follow suit. That would put us in a dangerous position. Better strike while they are off their guard." So Liu Bang attacked and defeated the army of Qin, then marched north to Lantian where he routed the Qin forces again. When he reached Xianyang, Ziying, king of Qin, surrendered.

Liu Bang, entering the Qin palaces, found there hangings, curtains, hounds, horses, treasures and women by the thousand. Tempted to stay there, he ignored the advice of Fan Kuai, who urged him to camp outside.

Zhang Liang said, "You are here because Qin did not rule well. And now that you have rid the world of a tyrant, you should trade on frugality. If the moment you enter Qin you indulge in its pleasures, you will just be out-doing the despot. 'Home truths grate on the ears yet are good guides to action; strong medicine tastes bitter yet helps to cure disease.' I hope you will take Fan Kuai's advice." Then Liu Bang withdrew his troops and stationed them at Bashang.

When Xiang Yu, arriving in Hongmen, decided to attack Liu Bang, Xiang Bo hastened by night to their camp and secretly urged Zhang Liang to leave with him.



【原文】

欲与俱去。良曰：“臣为韩王送沛公，今事有急，亡去不义。”乃具以语沛公。沛公大惊，曰：“为将奈何？”良曰：“沛公诚欲倍项羽邪？”沛公曰：“鲰生教我距关无内诸侯，秦地可尽王，故听之。”良曰：“沛公自度能却项羽乎？”沛公默然良久，曰：“固不能也。今为奈何？”良乃固要项伯。项伯见沛公。沛公与饮为寿，结宾婚。令项伯具言沛公不敢倍项羽，所以距关者，备他盗也。及见项羽后解。语在《项羽事》中。

汉元年正月，沛公为汉王，王巴蜀。汉王赐良金百镒，珠二斗，良具以献项伯。汉王亦因令良厚遗项伯，使请汉中地。项王乃

【今译】

军营，私下会见张良，想让张良同他一起离去。张良说：“我替韩王送沛公，今天事情紧急，逃跑离开是不仁义的。”于是张良把情况全部告诉了沛公。沛公大惊，说：“我应该怎么办呢？”张良说：“沛公的确想背叛项羽吗？”沛公说：“浅薄无知的小人让我把守函谷关不使诸侯入关，说秦地可以全部占取而称王，所以听从了他的建议。”张良说：“沛公自己揣度能抵御项羽吗？”沛公沉默了很长时间，说：“本来是不能够的。现在该怎么办呢？”张良于是坚持邀请项伯见沛公。项伯会见沛公。沛公与项伯饮酒，为他祝寿，结为亲家。让项伯回去详细说明沛公不敢背叛项羽，沛公之所以把守函谷关，是防备其它的强盗入关。等到沛公会见项羽后，俩人就和解了。这些话记载在《项羽本纪》中。

汉王元年正月(公元前206年)，沛公做了汉王，在巴地和蜀地称王。汉王赐给张良黄金百镒、珍珠二斗，张良全部献给了项伯。汉王也乘势让张良多赠项伯财物，让项伯代替请求汉中土



But Zhang Liang said, "I came on behalf of my prince to help Liu Bang. It would not be right to desert him in his hour of danger."

He reported the whole matter to Liu Bang, who asked in consternation, "What shall I do?"

"Do you really intend to oppose Xiang Yu?" asked Zhang Liang.

"A worthless fellow advised me to hold the Pass against the other princes so that I could rule over the whole of Qin. I acted on his advice."

"Do you believe you can defeat Xiang Yu?"

After quite a long silence he answered, "No, of course not. What shall I do?"

Then Zhang Liang urged Xiang Bo to come in and see Liu Bang, who drank a toast to him, promised to link their families by marriage, and asked him to explain to Xiang Yu that he would never think of betraying him and had simply held the Pass against brigands. So Xiang Bo went back and cleared up this matter, as has been recorded in the account of Xiang Yu.

In the first month of the first year of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.),² Liu Bang became king of Han ruling over Ba and Shu. He gave Zhang Liang a hundred *yi* of gold and two pecks of pearls, all of which Zhang Liang presented to Xiang Bo. Liu Bang also sent rich gifts to



【原文】

许之，遂得汉中地。汉王之国，良送至褒中，遣良归韩。良因说汉王曰：“王何不烧绝所过栈道？示天下无还心，以固项王意。”乃使良还。行，烧绝栈道。

良至韩，韩王成以良从汉王故，项王不遣成之国，从与俱东。良说项王曰：“汉王烧绝栈道，无还心矣。”乃以齐王田荣反书告项王。项王以此无西忧汉心，而发兵北击齐。

项王竟不肯遣韩王，乃以为侯，又杀之彭城。良亡，间行归汉王，汉王亦已还定三秦矣。复以良为成信侯，从东击楚。至彭城，汉败而还。至下邳，汉王下马踞鞍而问曰：“吾欲捐关以东等弃

【今译】

地。项王就答应项伯的请求，汉王于是得到了汉中土地。汉王到了封国，张良送他到褒中，汉王打发张良回归韩国。张良乘机告诉汉王说：“大王何不烧毁所过的栈道，断绝回去的道路呢？向天下表示您没有东回的心思了，以此稳固项羽的心。”汉王于是让张良回去。汉王前行，随后烧毁断绝所过的栈道。

张良到了韩国，韩王成因为张良跟随汉王的缘故，项王不派韩王成到封国去，就让张良和自己一同往东。张良劝说项王道：“汉王焚烧栈道，没有回来的心了。”他还把齐王田荣反叛之事书面报告项王。项王因此没有了西忧汉王之心，而发兵北去进击齐王。

项王终于不肯派遣韩王回封国，改封为侯，又将韩王杀死在彭城。张良逃跑，从小路西归汉王，汉王也已经回军平定了三秦了。又任用张良为成信侯，跟随汉王往东进击楚王。到达彭城，汉军打了败仗向西撤军。来到下邳，汉王下马倚着马鞍子而问道：“我打算舍弃函谷关以东等地区作为封赏，谁能和我一起建功



Xiang Bo through Zhang Liang with a request for Hanzhong, and since Xiang Yu agreed Liu Bang obtained this district.

When Liu Bang set off to his kingdom, Zhang Liang accompanied him as far as Baozhong before he was told to return. He advised Liu Bang saying, "Why not burn the plank road through the mountains? This would show the world you have no intention of marching east again and reassure Xiang Yu." Liu Bang, having sent him off, went on, destroying the plank road on his way.

Upon his return to Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), Zhang Liang found that King Cheng had not been allowed to go there but had been taken east by Xiang Yu, because Zhang Liang was on the side of Liu Bang. He told Xiang Yu, "Liu Bang has destroyed the plank road and has no intention of coming east again." He also informed him of the revolt of King Tian Rong of Qi. Then Xiang Yu set his mind at rest about Liu Bang in the west, and led an army north against Qi. He would not let King Cheng go, however, but made him a marquis and then had him killed at Pengcheng.

Zhang Liang fled to join Liu Bang, who by then had marched back and conquered the three states of Qin. Zhang Liang, made marquis of Chengxin, went east with the army of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) to attack Chu.

At Pengcheng the Han army was defeated and Liu Bang retreated to Xiayi. Unsaddling his horse to squat on the saddle, he said, "I mean to give up all the land east of the Pass to someone who will make common cause with me. Can you suggest anyone?"



【原文】

之，谁可与共功者？”良进曰：“九江王黥布，楚枭将，与项王有隙；彭越与齐王田荣反梁地。此两人可急使。而汉王之将独韩信可属大事，当一面。即欲捐之，捐之此三人，则楚可破也。”汉王乃遣随何说九江王布，而使人连彭越。及魏王豹反，使韩信将兵击之。因举燕、代、齐、赵。然卒破楚者，此三人力也。

张良多病，未尝特将也，常为画策臣，时时从汉王。

汉三年，项羽急围汉王荥阳，汉王恐忧，与郦食其谋桡楚权。食其曰：“昔汤伐桀，封其后于杞。武王伐纣，封其后于宋。今秦失德弃义，侵伐诸侯社稷，灭六国之后，使无立锥之地。陛下诚能

【今译】

立业呢？”张良进前说：“九江王黥布是楚王的勇将，与项王有隔阂；彭越与齐王田荣在梁地反叛。这两个人可以立即利用。而汉王的将领中只有韩信可以任用做大事，能独当一面。如果想舍弃这些地方就送给这三个人，那么楚王的大军就可以攻破了。”汉王于是派遣随何游说九江王黥布，又派人去联络彭越。等到魏王豹反叛，派韩信率军进击魏王豹叛军，乘势攻下了燕国、代国、齐国、赵国。而最终攻破楚王大军的，是这三个人的力量。

张良体弱多病，从未单独率军作战，经常作出谋划策的大臣，时时跟随汉王。

汉王三年（公元前204年），项羽把汉王围困在荥阳，情况危急，汉王恐惧忧虑，与郦食其谋划削弱楚国的权力。郦食其说：“从前商汤伐灭夏桀，封他的后代在杞地。武王伐灭纣王后，封他的后代在宋地。如今秦朝失德弃义，侵伐诸侯社稷，灭掉六国之后，使他们的后代没有立锥之地。陛下诚然能够再



Zhang Liang stepped forward and said, "Ying Bu, king of Jiujiang, is an able Chu general who hates Xiang Yu. Or there is Peng Yue, who has rebelled with King Tian Rong of Qi in Liang. Both men would serve in this emergency. Of your own generals, Han Xin alone is capable of great things and can play an independent part. If you mean to give up this territory, give it to these three men. Then Xiang Yu can be defeated."

Liu Bang sent Sui He to win over Ying Bu and another envoy to make an alliance with Peng Yue. And when King Bao of Wei rebelled, he dispatched Han Xin against him with an army. So he conquered Yan, Dai, Ji and Zhao. And the final overthrow of Chu was thanks to these three men. Zhang Liang's health was poor and he never commanded an army, but in his capacity as an adviser he was constantly with the king.

In the third year of Han, Xiang Yu beset Liu Bang so hard at Xingyang that in alarm he asked Li Yiji how to weaken the power of Chu.

"When Tang conquered King Jie of the Xia Dynasty," said Li Yiji, "he gave the land of Qi to his descendants. When King Wu conquered King Zhou of the Shang Dynasty, he gave Song to his descendants. But Qin, abandoning virtue and justice, has abolished the ancestral sacrifices of the six princes and disinherited their descendants, leaving them not a single inch of land. If you restore the descendants of the six



【原文】

复立六国后世，毕已受印，此其君臣百姓必皆戴陛下之德，莫不向风慕义，愿为臣妾。德义已行，陛下南向称霸，楚必敛衽而朝。”汉王曰：“善。趣刻印，先生因行佩之矣。”

食其未行，张良从外来谒。汉王方食，曰：“子房前！客有为我计桡楚权者。”具以酈生语告，曰：“于子房何如？”良曰：“谁为陛下画此计者？陛下事去矣。”汉王曰：“何哉？”张良对曰：“臣请藉前箸为大王筹之。”曰：“昔者汤伐桀而封其后于杞者，度能制桀之死命也。今陛下能制项籍之死命乎？”曰：“未能也。”

“其不可一也。武王伐纣封其后于宋者，度能得纣之头也。今陛

【今译】

拥立六国的后代，使他们都接受印信，他们的君臣百姓一定都感戴陛下的恩德，没有谁不向风慕义，愿意做陛下的臣民。德义已经施行天下，陛下就可以南面称霸，楚王一定整顿衣冠恭敬地来朝。”汉王说：“好吧。赶紧刻制印信，先生就可以带着这些印信出发了。”

酈食其还没有出发，张良从外面回来拜见汉王。汉王正在吃饭，说：“子房进前来！有位客人为我献了一个削弱楚国权力的计策。”他把酈食其的话都详细具体地告诉了张良，说：“在子房看来怎么样？”张良说：“是谁为陛下筹划这个计策？陛下的大事就要完了。”汉王说：“为什么呢？”张良回答说：“我请求借用您面前的筷子为您筹划一下当前的形势。”张良接着说：“从前商汤伐灭夏桀后而封他的后代在杞地，估量自己能够置夏桀于死地。现在陛下能够置项籍于死地吗？”汉王说：“我不能够。”张良说：“这是不可以那样做的第一个原因。武王伐灭纣王后而封他的后代在宋地，是因为他揣度着能割取纣王的首级。现在陛下能够割下项



royal houses and present them with seals, then they, their ministers and their people will acknowledge your virtue and turn towards you in admiration, willing to be your subjects. When you have done such deeds of virtue and justice, you can rule as the overlord and Xiang Yu will have to submit to your sovereignty."

"Good!" said Liu Bang. "Have the seals cut at once and you can set out with them."

Zhang Liang happened to come in before Li Yiji left on this mission. Liu Bang who was at his meal called, "Come over here! Someone has proposed a plan to weaken Chu's power." Having told Zhang Liang all Li Yiji had said, he asked, "What do you think?"

"Who made this plan?" asked Zhang Liang. "This will be your ruin!"

"In what way?" asked Liu Bang.

"Give me your chopsticks and let me explain. When Tang conquered the Jie he gave Qi to his descendants because he had power of life and death over them. Have you power of life and death over Xiang Yu?"

"No, I have not."

"Fallacy number one. When King Wu conquered the Shangs, he gave Song to his descendants because he knew he could cut off the head of the Shang king. Can you cut off Xiang Yu's head?"



【原文】

下能得项籍之头乎？”曰：“未能也。”“其不可二也。武王入殷，表商容之间，释箕子之拘，封比干之墓。今陛下能封圣人之墓，表贤者之间，式智者之门乎？”曰：“未能也。”“其不可三也。发巨桥之粟，散鹿台之钱，以赐贫穷。今陛下能散府库以赐贫穷乎？”曰：“未能也。”“其不可四矣。殷事已毕，偃革为轩，倒置干戈，覆以虎皮，以示天下不复用兵。今陛下能偃武行文，不复用兵乎？”曰：“未能也。”“其不可五矣。休马华山之阳，示以无所为。今陛下能休马无所用乎？”曰：“未能也。”“其不可六矣。放牛桃林之阴，以示不复输积。今陛下能放牛不复输积乎？”曰：“未能也。”

【今译】

籍的头吗？”汉王说：“不能。”张良说：“这是第二个不能施行那个计划的原因。武王进入殷都后，到商容的里巷的大门表彰他的德行，从囚牢里放出箕子，封高比干的坟墓。现今陛下能够封高圣人的坟墓，到贤者的里巷的大门表彰他的德行，在有才智的人的门前向他致敬吗？”汉王说：“我做不到。”张良说：“这是第三个不能采用那个计策的原因。周武王发放巨桥的粮食，散发鹿台的钱财，用来赐给贫穷百姓。如今陛下能够散发府库粮食赐给贫穷的人吗？”汉王说：“我不能。”张良说：“这是第四个不能使用那个计划的原因。殷朝事情结束后，武王拆毁战车，改造为乘车，倒放着兵器，上面覆盖着虎皮，向天下表示不再用兵。现在陛下能够废除武事采用文治，不再使用武器吗？”汉王说：“我不能。”张良说：“这是第五个不可使用那个计策的原因。周武王把战马放在华山的南面，表示无所用了。如今陛下能够放弃战马不再使用它吗？”汉王说：“我不能。”张良说：“这是第六个不可以使用那个计划的原因。武王将运输粮草的牛放牧在桃林的北面，以此表示不再运输、聚积粮草了。如今陛下能够放牧牛群，不再运输和聚积粮草了吗？”汉王说：“我不能。”张良说：“这是第



"No, I cannot."

"Fallacy number two. When King Wu took the Shang capital, he honoured Shang Rong's lane, released Ji Zi from prison and enlarged Bi Gan's grave. Are you in a position to enlarge a sage's grave, honour a good man's lane or a wise man's gate?"

"No, I am not."

"Fallacy number three. King Wu was able to distribute the grain stored at Juqiao and the money stored at Lutai among the poor. Are you able to distribute grain and money to the poor?"

"No, I am not."

"Fallacy number four. After his conquest of Shang, King Wu converted war chariots into carriages, while shields and spears were laid down and covered with tiger skins to show the world that there would be no more war. Are you in a position to lay down arms, practise the arts of peace and end all wars?"

"No, I am not."

"Fallacy number five. King Wu grazed his horses south of Mount Hua to show that there would be no more unrest. Are you in a position to turn your horses loose?"

"No, I am not."

"Fallacy number six. King Wu pastured his cattle north of Taolin to show that there would be no more transport duty. Are you in a position to do that?"

"No, I am not."





【原文】

“其不可七矣。且天下游士离其亲戚，弃坟墓，去故旧，从陛下游者，徒欲日夜望咫尺之地。今复六国，立韩、魏、燕、赵、齐、楚之后，天下游士各归事其主，从其亲戚，反其故旧坟墓，陛下与谁取天下乎？其不可八矣。且夫楚唯无强，六国立者复桡而从之，陛下焉得而臣之？诚用客之谋，陛下事去矣！”汉王辍食吐哺，骂曰：“竖儒，几败而公事！”令趣销印。

汉四年，韩信破齐而欲自立为齐王，汉王怒。张良说汉王，汉王使良授齐王信印。语在《淮阴》事中。

【今译】

七个不可以采用那个计划的原因了。况且天下的游士离开他们的亲戚，舍弃祖坟，丢下故旧，跟随陛下到处奔波，只是日夜想得到一点点封地。如今恢复六国，拥立韩国、魏国、燕国、赵国、齐国、楚国的后代，天下游士各自回去服事他们的主子，随从他们的父母妻子，返回到他们的故旧和自己祖先坟墓的所在地，陛下与谁去夺取天下呢？这是第八个不可以采用那个计划的原因了。当前只有使楚国不再强大，否则六国被封立的后代如果再重新屈服跟随楚国，陛下怎么能够使他们臣服呢？如果实在想采用客人的计划，陛下的大事就完蛋了。”汉王停下吃饭，吐出嘴中食物，骂说：“这个书呆子，几乎败坏了我的大事！”命令赶紧销毁那些印信。

汉王四年（公元前203年），韩信攻破齐国而想自立为齐王，汉王大怒。张良劝说汉王，汉王派张良授予韩信齐王的印信。这些话记载在《淮阴侯列传》的事情中。



“Fallacy number seven. Itinerant scholars from all over the world have left their homes, ancestral graves and friends to follow you just in the hope of getting a little land. If you restore the six states and en throne the descendants of the royal houses of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), Yan, Zhao, Qi and Chu, all these gentlemen will go back to serve their old masters, returning to their homes, friends and ancestral graves. Then who will help you to win your empire? This is fallacy number eight. Your main task now is to stop Chu from growing stronger. If the six states are restored and follow Xiang Yu, how can you subjugate Chu? If you really adopt this plan, it will be your ruin.”

Liu Bang stopped eating and spat the food out of his mouth. “That fool of a pedant nearly did for me!” he swore. He gave orders at once to have the seals cancelled.

In the fourth year of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.), Han Xin conquered Qi and wanted to make himself king there. Liu Bang was angry, but Zhang Liang persuaded him to give Han Xin the seal of a king, as is recorded in the account of Han Xin.



【原文】

其秋，汉王追楚至阳夏南，战不利而壁固陵，诸侯期不至。良说汉王，汉王用其计，诸侯毕至。语在《项籍》事中。

汉六年正月，封功臣。良未尝有战斗功，高帝曰：“运筹策帷帐中，决胜千里外，子房功也。自择齐三万户。”良曰：“始臣起下邳，与上会留，此天以臣授陛下。陛下用臣计，幸而时中，臣愿封留足矣，不敢当三万户。”乃封张良为留侯，与萧何等俱封。

上已封大功臣二十余人，其余日夜争功不决，未得行封。上在洛阳南宫，从复道望见诸将往往相与坐沙中语。上曰：“此何语？”留侯曰：“陛下不知乎？此谋反耳。”上曰：“天下属安定，何故反

【今译】

这年秋天，汉王追击楚王到达阳夏的南边，作战不利而在固陵坚守营垒，诸侯逾期不到。张良劝说汉王，汉王采用他的计策，诸侯都到来。这些话记载在《项羽本纪》中。

汉王六年正月(公元前201年)，封赏功臣。张良未曾有作战的功劳，高帝说：“运筹谋划帷帐之中，决胜于千里之外，这是子房的功劳。你自己在齐国选择三万户作为封邑。”张良说：“当初我在下邳起事，与皇上在留地相会，这是上天把我交给了陛下。陛下采用我的计策，侥幸时常有效，我情愿受封留县也就满足了，不敢接受三万户。”于是封张良为留侯，与萧何等人一起受封。

皇上已经封赏有大功劳的臣子二十多人，其余的人日夜争功不决，未能进行封赏。皇上在洛阳南宫，从阁道上望见将领们常常三三两两坐在沙地上议论。皇上说：“这是在讲什么话？”留侯说：“陛下不知道么？这是谋反呢。”皇上说：“天下已近于安定，



That autumn Liu Bang pursued Xiang Yu to south of Yangxia; then, being worsted in battle, he entrenched himself in Guling, but the other commanders failed to come to his aid. Only when he acted on Zhang Liang's advice did the reinforcements come, as is recorded in the account of Xiang Yu.

In the first month of the sixth year of Han, fiefs were given for outstanding services. Zhang Liang had never distinguished himself in battle, but the emperor said, "The strategies you planned in your tent won battles for us a thousand *li* away — that is your achievement. Take your choice of any thirty thousand households in Qi."

Zhang Liang answered, "After I rebelled at Xiapi I met you at Liu. Heaven sent to you, and I am glad that some of the plans I proposed proved useful. I shall be satisfied with the district of Liu as my fief. I cannot accept thirty thousand households." So Zhang Liang was made marquis of Liu at the same time as Xiao He and the others were enfeoffed.

That same year, after the emperor had enfeoffed more than twenty men with great achievements to their credit, the others disputed day and night and could not reach agreement, so that the work of enfeoffment was held up. One day in his Southern Palace in Luoyang, the emperor looked down from a terrace and saw some generals sitting by the river and talking together.

"What are they discussing?" he asked.

"Don't you know, sir?" replied Zhang Liang. "They are plotting rebellion."

"Peace has just been restored. Why should they revolt?"

【原文】

乎？”留侯曰：“陛下起布衣，以此属取天下，今陛下为天子，而所封皆萧、曹故人所亲爱，而所诛者皆生平所仇怨。今军吏计功，以天下不足遍封，此属畏陛下不能尽封，恐又见疑平生过失及诛，故即相聚谋反耳。”上乃忧曰：“为之奈何？”留侯曰：“上平生所憎，群臣所共知，谁最甚者？”上曰：“雍齿与我故，数尝窘辱我。我欲杀之，为其功多，故不忍。”留侯曰：“今急先封雍齿以示群臣，群臣见雍齿封，则人人自坚矣。”于是上乃置酒，封雍齿为什方侯，而急趣丞相、御史定功行封。群臣罢酒，皆喜曰：“雍齿尚为侯，我属无患矣。”

刘敬说高帝曰：“都关中。”上疑之。左右大臣皆山东人，多

【今译】

为什么反叛呢？”留侯说：“陛下以平民身份起事，靠这些人夺取天下，现在陛下做了天子，而所封赏的都是萧何、曹参平时亲爱的老朋友，而所诛杀的都是您平时所仇恨的人。如今军吏计算功劳，认为天下的土地不够普遍地封赏，这些人担心陛下不能全部封赏，恐怕又被怀疑生平出现的过失而遭诛杀，所以就相聚谋反。”皇上于是很忧虑地说：“应该怎么办呢？”留侯说：“皇上平生所憎恶的，是群臣所共知的，谁最为厉害呢？”皇上说：“雍齿与我有旧仇，曾经多次困窘并羞辱我。我打算杀死他，因为他的战功多，所以不忍心杀他。”留侯说：“现在立即先封赏雍齿以示群臣，群臣看见雍齿被封赏，那么人人对自己的封赏将会坚信不疑了。”于是皇上就设酒宴，封雍齿为什方侯，而且急着催促丞相、御史评定功劳，进行封赏。群臣饮酒后，都很欢喜地说：“雍齿尚能被封为侯，我们这些人就没有忧虑的了。”

刘敬劝导高帝说：“在关中建都。”皇上很疑虑。左右大臣都



"You started out as a common citizen but with their help won the empire. Since becoming the emperor you have ennobled close friends like Xiao He and Cao Shen and punished all your former enemies. Now these officers, comparing their achievements, think you have not land enough to give fiefs to all. They fear you may not ennoble them, or may even punish them for past shortcomings. That is why they are gathering together to plot revolt."

The emperor was disturbed and asked, "What shall I do?"

"Is there any man they all know you abominate?"

"Yong Chi is one of my old confederates, but he keeps plaguing and insulting me. If not for all he's done, I'd kill him."

"Then lose no time in giving Yong Chi a fief. When the others see him enfeoffed, they will rest assured."

So the emperor gave a feast at which he made Yong Chi marquis of Shifang and ordered the prime minister and chief counsellor to decide on the other fiefs. After this feast the officers were pleased and said, "If even Yong Chi is made a marquis, we need have no worry."

Liu Jing advised the emperor to make his capital within the Pass. The emperor was in two minds about this. As most of his attendants



【原文】

劝上都洛阳：“洛阳东有成皋，西有崤黾，背河，向伊洛，其固亦足恃。”留侯曰：“洛阳虽有此固，其中小，不过数百里，田地薄，四面受敌，此非用武之国也。夫关中左崤函，右陇蜀，沃野千里，南有巴蜀之饶，北有胡苑之利，阻三面而守，独以一面东制诸侯。诸侯安定，河、渭漕挽天下，西给京师；诸侯有变，顺流而下，足以委输。此所谓金城千里，天府之国也，刘敬说是也。”于是高帝即日驾，西都关中。

留侯从入关。留侯性多病，即道引不食谷，杜门不出岁余。

上欲废太子，立戚夫人子赵王如意。大臣多谏争，未能得坚决

【今译】

是山东人，大多数都劝皇上建都洛阳，他们说：“洛阳东边有成皋，西边有崤黾，背靠着黄河，面向伊洛，地势的坚固也足够依恃的了。”留侯说：“洛阳虽然有此坚固，但它的中间地方小，不过数百里，田地瘠薄，四面受敌，这里不是用武之国的所在地。关中左边有崤山、函谷关，右边有陇山、蜀山，肥沃田野千里，南面有巴、蜀的丰富资源，北边有胡苑的牧马的草原，依靠三面险阻的地形防守，而独以一面向东控制诸侯。假如诸侯安定，由黄河、渭河水运输天下的粮草货物，往西供给京师；假如诸侯发生变故，则顺流而下，足以转运军需物资。这就是所说的金城千里，天府之国，刘敬说的是对的。”于是高帝当天起驾，西去定都于关中。

留侯跟随进入关中。留侯天生多病，修炼道引之术，不吃五谷，闭门不出有一年多。

皇上想废掉太子，立戚夫人的儿子赵王如意为太子。许多大



and high ministers came from east of the mountains, they urged him to make Luoyang the capital. "East of Louyang there is Chenggao, west Mount Yao and the River Min," they said. "With the Yellow River behind and the Yi and Luo Rivers before, it is surely impregnable!"

But Zhang Liang objected, "Though Luoyang has these advantages, it covers no more than a few hundred *li*, the land is not fertile and the city is open to attack on four sides. It is not strategically situated. Within the Pass, however, we have Mount Yao and the Hangu Pass to the east, the Long and Shu ranges to the west, and a thousand *li* of fertile field; while to the south is the wealth of Ba and Shu, to the north the advantage of the Hunnish pastures. With natural barriers on three sides, we need only cope with the barons in the east. So long as they are quiet, ships can sail along the Yellow River and the Wei to all parts of the empire to bring back grain to the capital in the west. And if the barons make trouble, we can sail downstream with supplies and reinforcement. This is truly a mighty stronghold of solid gold, a thousand-*li* wall of bronze, a natural treasure-house! Liu Jing is right."

That same day the emperor drove west in his carriage to make his capital within the Pass, and Zhang Liang accompanied him. As his health was poor, Zhang Liang practised breath control and ate no grain, not venturing out of his house for a year and more.

The emperor wished to depose the crown prince in favour of Prince Ruyi of Zhao, his son by Lady Qi; but because many of his chief ministers objected, he had not reached a final decision. Empress

【原文】

者也。吕后恐，不知所为。人或谓吕后曰：“留侯善画计策，上信用之。”吕后乃使建成侯吕泽劫留侯，曰：“君常为上谋臣，今上欲易太子，君安得高枕而卧乎？”留侯曰：“始上数在困急之中，幸用臣策。今天下安定，以爱欲易太子，骨肉之间，虽臣等百余人何益。”吕泽强要曰：“为我画计。”留侯曰：“此难以口舌争也。顾上有不能致者，天下有四人。四人者年老矣，皆以为上慢侮人，故逃匿山中，义不为汉臣。然上高此四人。今公诚能无爱金玉璧帛，令太子为书，卑辞安车，因使辩士固请，宜来。来，以为客，时时从入朝，令上见之，则必异而问之。问之，上知此

【今译】

臣谏诤，没有能够得到果断的决定。吕后恐惧了，不知该怎么办。有人对吕后说：“留侯善于谋划计策，皇上信用他。”吕后就派建成侯吕泽劫持留侯，说：“您一直是皇上的谋臣，现在皇上打算改换太子，您怎能高枕而卧袖手旁观呢？”留侯说：“当初皇上多次处于困急之中，侥幸用了我的计策。现在天下安定，皇上因为喜爱如意而想改换太子，这是皇室骨肉之间的事情，即使我们臣子有一百多人进谏，又能有什么益处呢。”吕泽强行要挟说：“为我想个办法。”留侯说：“这件事是难以用口舌谏诤的。回想皇上不能招致的，天下有四个人。这四个人都是老年了，都认为皇上对人傲慢无礼，所以逃匿山中，他们按照道义不做汉朝臣子。但是皇上很敬重这四位老人。现在您果真能够不爱惜金玉璧帛，让太子写一封书信，言辞谦恭，驾着四匹马拉的安车，再派能言善道的士人恳切地聘请，他们应该会来。他们来到后，要当作贵客，让他们时常跟随着入朝，让皇上见到他们，就一定惊奇而询问他们。询问了他们，皇上就能知晓这四位老人的贤德，那



Lü was alarmed and did not know what to do till someone suggested, "The marquis of Liu is a shrewd schemer and the emperor trusts him."

Accordingly Empress Lü sent Lü Ze, marquis of Jiancheng, to enlist Zhang Liang's help saying, "You have always advised the emperor. Now that he wants to disinherit the crown prince, how can you lie easy on your pillow?"

"When the emperor was in difficulties he used several of my plans," replied Zhang Liang. "Now the empire is at peace and, if he wants to substitute his favourite son for the crown prince, this is between his own flesh and blood. A hundred or more ministers like myself can do nothing."

But Lü Ze insisted, "Think of some plan for us!"

"Hard to talk him out of this," was Zhang Liang's answer. "But there are four men the emperor has failed to win over. These four men are old and, because they think his manner insulting, they have hidden themselves in the hills and refuse to serve the House of Han. The emperor has a high regard for these men. Now if you spare no expense on gold and rich gifts, get the crown prince to write a letter couched in humble terms, send comfortable carriages for them and an eloquent speaker to press the invitation, it is possible they may come. If they do, you can entertain them as guests, taking them from time to time with you to the palace, where the emperor will notice them, wonder who they are and make inquiries. When he learns that they are these four worthies, that should help your case."



【原文】

四人贤，则一助也。”于是吕后令吕泽使人奉太子书，卑辞厚礼，迎此四人。四人至，客建成侯所。

汉十一年，黥布反，上病，欲使太子将，往击之。四人相谓曰：“凡来者，将以存太子。太子将兵，事危矣。”乃说建成侯曰：“太子将兵，有功则位不益太子；无功还，则从此受祸矣。且太子所与俱诸将，皆尝与上定天下枭将也，今使太子将之，此无异使羊将狼也，皆不肯为尽力，其无功必矣。臣闻‘母爱者子抱’，今戚夫人日夜侍御，赵王如意常抱居前，上曰‘终不使不肖子居爱子之上’，明乎其代太子位必矣。君何不急请吕后承间

【今译】

么这对太子就是一大帮助。”于是吕后让吕泽派人手捧太子书信，言辞谦卑，礼物丰厚，迎接四位老人。四位老人到来，作为贵客住在建成侯府内。

汉高祖十一年(公元前196年)，黥布反叛，皇上病重，想派太子率军，前往讨伐叛军。四位老人互相商议说：“我们所以前来，是要保住太子的位置，如果太子率军出征，事情就危险了。”于是他们就游说建成侯道：“太子率军出征，有了战功，那么爵位是不会再超过太子了；如果无功回来，那么从此就要遭受灾祸了。况且和太子一起出征的各位将领，他们都是曾经跟随皇上平定天下的勇将，如今派太子统领大军，这无异于使羊率领狼，都不肯为太子尽力，太子没有战功是一定的了。我们听说‘母亲受宠爱，她的儿子就会被人抱’，现在戚夫人日夜侍奉皇上，赵王如意常常被抱在皇上面前，皇上说‘终归不能使那个不才的儿子居在我的爱子之上’，很明确了，如意代替太子的位置是一定的了。您为何不赶快请吕后找个机会对着皇上流着眼泪



Then Empress Lü made Lü Ze send a messenger with the crown prince's letter, inviting these four men with humble words and rich gifts. Upon their arrival, Lü Ze made them his guests.

In the eleventh year of Han, Ying Bu rebelled. The emperor, who was ill, wanted the crown prince to command the army sent against him. The four worthies said to each other, "We came here to preserve the crown prince. If he commands the army he will be endangered." So they told Lü Ze, "If the crown prince commands the army and is successful that will not improve his position, while if he returns unsuccessful that will be disastrous. Besides, all the generals under him will be redoubtable veterans who helped his father to win the empire. The crown prince at their head will be like a lamb commanding a pack of wolves. As they will not fight well for him, his failure is certain."

"We have heard that whoever loves the mother will fondle her child. Now Lady Qi waits on the emperor day and night so that Prince Ruyi is always dandled before him, and the emperor has declared that no unworthy son shall ever rule over a son whom he loves. It is obvious that he is going to replace the crown prince. Lose no time, then, in urging Empress Lü to find some chance to plead to the emperor with



【原文】

为上泣言：‘黥布，天下猛将也，善用兵，今诸将皆陛下故等夷，乃令太子将此属，无异使羊将狼，莫肯为用，且使布闻之，则鼓行而西耳。上虽病，强载辎车，卧而护之，诸将不敢不尽力。上虽苦，为妻子自强’。”于是吕泽立夜见吕后，吕后承间为上泣涕而言，如四人意。上曰：“吾惟竖子固不足遣，而公自行耳。”于是上自将兵而东，群臣居守，皆送至灞上。留侯病，自强起，至曲邮，见上曰：“臣宜从，病甚。楚人剽疾，愿上无与楚人争锋。”因说上曰：“令太子为将军，监关中兵。”上曰：“子房虽病，强卧而傅太子。”是时叔孙通为太傅，留侯行少傅事。

【今译】

说：‘黥布是天下的猛将，善于用兵，如今诸位将领都是陛下原来的同辈，而派太子率领这些人，这无异于使羊统率狼，没有谁肯为太子出力，而且让黥布听到了，那就会大张旗鼓向西进犯了。皇上虽然有病，但是强打精神乘坐可以坐卧的辎车，躺在车上而且使人保护着，诸位将领就不敢不尽力了。皇上虽然辛苦些，但是为了妻子儿子就要自己勉强做吧。’”于是吕泽立即连夜去见吕后，吕后找个机会在皇上面前，按照四位老人的意思哭诉了一番。皇上说：“我就知道这个小子本来就不能派他这个差事，就只好我自己前往了。”于是皇上亲自率军东去，群臣留守，都送到灞上。留侯身有重病，自己强打精神起来，来到曲邮，拜见皇上说：“我应当跟随您出征，但是我病得厉害。楚人勇猛敏捷，希望皇上不要与楚人争锋。”张良乘机劝导皇上说：“让太子做将军，监统关中军队。”皇上说：“子房虽然有病，但是请您躺着也要强打精神辅佐太子。”这时叔孙通做太傅，留侯行使少傅之职。



tears. She can say that Ying Bu is a formidable fighter, a brilliant commander known throughout the world. Since our generals are all the emperor's old comrades-in-arms, setting the crown prince at their head would be like setting a lamb at the head of wolves — they would never obey him. And once Ying Bu knew this, he would march west towards the capital to the roll of drums. Although the emperor is unwell, he should make the effort to lead this campaign and direct his troops from a carriage, for then his generals will not dare to shirk. Hard as it is, the emperor should do this for the sake of his wife and child."

Lü Ze went that same night to see the empress, who did as the four worthies suggested, seizing an opportunity to plead to the emperor with tears in her eyes.

"I suppose the boy is not up to it," said the emperor. "Your old man will have to go!" So he led his army eastwards. The ministers left in charge saw him off at Bashang. Although Zhang Liang was ill, he forced himself to get up and see the emperor at Quyou.

"I should have accompanied you," he said, "but I am too ill. The men of Chu are swift. Don't risk a head-on clash." He persuaded the emperor to give the crown prince the command of the troops within the Pass.

"Although you are ill," said the emperor, "do your best to help the crown prince from your couch." At this time Shusun Tong was the prince's senior guardian, so Zhang Liang acted as the junior guardian.



【原文】

汉十二年，上从击破布军归，疾益甚，愈欲易太子。留侯谏，不听，因疾不视事。叔孙太傅称说引古今，以死争太子。上佯许之，犹欲易之。及宴，置酒，太子侍。四人从太子，年皆八十有余，须眉皓白，衣冠甚伟。上怪之，问曰：“彼何为者？”四人前对，各言名姓，曰东园公，角里先生，绮里季，夏黄公。上乃大惊，曰：“吾求公数岁，公避逃我，今公何自从吾儿游乎？”四人皆曰：“陛下轻士善骂，臣等义不受辱，故恐而亡匿。窃闻太子为人仁孝，恭敬爱士，天下莫不延颈欲为太子死者，故臣等来耳。”上曰：“烦公幸卒调护太子。”

【今译】

汉高祖十二年(公元前195年)，皇上随着击破黥布叛军归来，病情更加严重，越发想更换太子。留侯劝谏，高祖不听，留侯因此称病不理政事。叔孙太傅引用古今之事劝说皇上，以死谏诤来保太子。皇上假意答应了他，但还是想更换太子。等到皇上设酒宴时，太子侍奉在侧。四位老人跟随太子，年龄都有八十多岁，须眉皓白，衣帽非常奇特。皇上很奇怪，问说：“你们是做什么的？”四位老人上前回答，各人讲各人的姓名，叫东园公、角里先生、绮里季、夏黄公。皇上于是大惊说：“我寻求先生们好几年了，先生们躲避我，现在先生们为何自愿与我的儿子交游呢？”四位老人都说：“陛下轻视士人而好骂人，我们遵循道义，不肯受辱，所以恐惧而逃跑躲藏起来。我们私下听说太子为人仁孝，恭敬爱士，天下士人没有谁不肯伸长脖子想为太子死的，所以我们才肯前来了。”皇上说：“烦劳诸位先生善始善终调教保护太子吧。”



In the twelfth year of Han the emperor returned after defeating Ying Bu. His illness had grown worse and he was more determined than ever to depose the crown prince. When Zhang Liang's advice against this was disregarded, he retired on the pretext of illness. The senior guardian Shusun Tong, quoting precedents ancient and modern, put up such a hard fight for the crown prince that the emperor pretended to agree, though he still meant to change his heir.

One day there was a feast and wine was served. The crown prince came to wait on his father, attended by four old men each over eighty. Their beards and eyebrows were white, their hats and gowns most imposing.

The emperor asked in surprise, "Who are these men?"

Then the four advanced and gave their names as Master Dongyuan, Scholar Luli, Qili Ji and Master Xiahuang.

The emperor exclaimed in astonishment, "I tried for several years to get hold of you, yet you always kept away. What are you doing with my son?"

The four men replied, "You insult gentlemen, sir, and are addicted to swearing. Unwilling to put up with humiliation, we ran away in fear. Then we heard that the crown prince was kind, pious and courteous to all, and that the people of the empire are ready to die for him, and so we came."

The emperor said, "Take good care of the crown prince!"



【原文】

四人为寿已毕，趋去。上目送之，召戚夫人指示四人者曰：“我欲易之，彼四人辅之，羽翼已成，难动矣。吕后真而主矣。”戚夫人泣，上曰：“为我楚舞，吾为若楚歌。”歌曰：“鸿鹄高飞，一举千里。羽翮已就，横绝四海。横绝四海，当可奈何！虽有矰缴，尚安所施！”歌数阕，戚夫人嘘唏流涕，上起去，罢酒。竟不易太子者，留侯本招此四人之力也。

留侯从上击代，出奇计马邑下，及立萧何相国，所与上从容言天下事甚众，非天下所以存亡，故不著。留侯乃称曰：“家世相韩，及韩灭，不爱万金之资，为韩报仇强秦，天下震动。今以三

【今译】

四位老人敬酒祝寿完毕，小步快走离去。皇上目送他们，召来戚夫人，指着那四个人告诉她说：“我想更换太子，他们四个人辅佐太子，羽翼已长成了，难动了。吕后真正成了你的主人了。”戚夫人哭泣，皇上说：“你为我跳个楚舞，我为你唱个楚歌。”皇上歌唱道：“鸿鹄高飞，一举千里。羽翮已就，横绝四海。横绝四海，当可奈何！虽有短箭，尚有何用！”一连唱了几遍，戚夫人抽泣流泪，皇上起身离去，酒宴结束了。皇上终于没能更换成太子的原因，根本的就是在留侯帮助下招来四位老人所出的力。

留侯跟随皇上进击代国，献出奇计，取下了马邑，以及劝说皇上立萧何为相国，他与皇上从容谈论天下的事情很多，因为不是关于天下存亡的大事，所以没有记载。留侯于是称说：“我家世代做韩国丞相，等到韩国灭亡，我不爱惜万金家资，替韩国向强大的秦国报仇，普天之下为之震动。如今凭着三寸之舌成为皇帝



After the four had paid their respects they rose to leave, and the emperor watched them go. He called Lady Qi and pointed them out to her, saying, "I meant to depose the crown prince, but these four men have come to his aid. His feathers are grown, it would be hard to dislodge him. Empress Lü is going to be your mistress now."

Lady Qi shed tears, at which the emperor said, "Dance one of the dances of Chu for me, and I shall sing a song of Chu for you." With that he sang:

High flies the wild swan,
Soaring a thousand *li*;
His feathers grown,
He sweeps freely across the four seas;
Sweeps freely across the four seas,
And what can we do?
Even our stringed shafts
Are powerless against him.

He sang this several times while Lady Qi wept and sobbed. Then he rose and left the feast. So thanks to these four men invited at the suggestion of Zhang Liang, the crown prince retained his position.

Zhang Liang accompanied the emperor on his expedition against Chen Xi in Dai, he devised the stratagem at Mayi, and it was he who urged that Xiao He be made prime minister. In his leisure he advised the emperor on various matters, but since these were not vital affairs of state they need not be recorded.

Then Zhang Liang announced, "My forefathers were ministers of the state of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and after the state was overthrown I gave up a fortune to avenge Han against mighty Qin, causing a great stir in the world. With my ready tongue I became the adviser of an



【原文】

寸舌为帝者师，封万户，位列侯，此布衣之极，于良足矣。愿弃人间事，欲从赤松子游耳。”乃学辟谷，道引轻身。会高帝崩，吕后德留侯，乃强食之，曰：“人生一世间，如白驹过隙，何至自苦如此乎！”留侯不得已，强听而食。

后八年卒，谥为文成侯。子不疑代侯。

子房始所见下邳圯上老父与《太公书》者，后十三年从高帝过济北，果见谷城山下黄石，取而宝祠之。留侯死，并葬黄石。每上冢伏腊，祠黄石。

留侯不疑，孝文帝五年坐不敬，国除。

【今译】

的老师，封万户，位列侯，这是一个平民发迹到了顶点，我张良已经满足了。愿意抛弃人间富贵，想跟随赤松子去遨游。”于是学习道家的辟谷之术，静居运气，道引轻身。正逢高帝去世，吕后感恩留侯，就强迫留侯吃东西，说：“人生一世间，如同白驹过隙，为什么要自找苦吃到这种地步呢！”留侯不得已，勉强听太后的意见而吃东西。

八年后留侯去世，谥为文成侯。儿子不疑继承侯位。

张子房当初所见到的下邳桥上交给他《太公书》的老人，十三年后张良跟随高帝经过济北时，果然见到谷城山下有块黄石，就取回此块黄石，奉若至宝，祭祀它。留侯死了，便一起埋葬了黄石。张良家人每逢节日上坟扫墓祭祀张良时，也同时祭祀黄石。

留侯不疑，孝文帝五年因犯了不敬之罪，封国被废除。



emperor, was given a fief of ten thousand households and made a marquis. This is all a common citizen could desire, and I am satisfied. Now I mean to turn my back on worldly affairs and follow the Master of the Red Pine." He abstained from grain and studied breath control so that he might fly through the air.

When the emperor died, Empress Lü was so grateful to Zhang Liang that she insisted on his taking nourishment and said, "A man's life passes as swiftly as a white charger seen through a crack in the door. Why should you mortify yourself in this way?" So Zhang Liang had to take food.

Eight years later he died and was given the posthumous title of Marquis of Wencheng. His son Buyi succeeded to his title.

As for the old man who met him on the bridge Xiapi and gave him *The Patriarch Lü Shang's Art of War*, when Zhang Liang went north of the Ji River with the emperor thirteen years after their meeting, he found a yellow stone at the foot of Mount Gucheng which he took away and worshipped. After his death this stone was buried with him, and during the summer and winter sacrifices men sacrificed to the stone too. In the fifth year of Emperor Wen, Zhang Liang's son Buyi was charged with impiety and deprived of his fief.





【原文】

太史公曰：学者多言无鬼神，然言有物。至如留侯所见老父予书，亦可怪矣。高祖离困者数矣，而留侯常有功力焉，岂可谓非天乎？上曰：“夫运筹策帷帐之中，决胜千里外，吾不如子房。”余以为其人计魁梧奇伟，至见其图，状貌如妇人好女。盖孔子曰：“以貌取人，失之子羽。”留侯亦云。

【今译】

太史公说：学者大都说没有鬼神，可是却说有精怪。至于像留侯所见的老父给予他书，也可以称得上奇怪了。高祖多次遭遇困境，而留侯经常在这时出力建功，难道可以说这不是天意吗？皇上说：“在帷帐中出谋划策，决胜千里之外，我不如张子房。”我认为这个人大概是高大奇伟的，等到看见他的图像，相貌就像妇人美女。孔子说过：“按照相貌评论人，我对子羽就有所失误。”对于留侯也应这样说吧。



The Grand Historian comments: Most scholars deny the existence of ghosts and spirits, but admit that marvels take place. The story of Zhang Liang's meeting with the old man who gave him the book is certainly a strange one. It was surely the will of Heaven that Zhang Liang was so often able to save the first emperor of Han (206B.C.-8A. D.) when he was in trouble. The emperor said, "When it comes to scheming in the commander's tent to win a battle a thousand *li* away, I am no match for Zhang Liang." So I had always visualized him as a tall, imposing figure, yet when I saw his portrait he looked like a woman or a pretty girl. Confucius said, "Judging by appearances I have been mistaken in the case of Ziyu." The same might be said of Zhang Liang.

¹ 250 B.C.

² 206 B.C.





陈丞相世家

【原文】

陈丞相平者，阳武户牖乡人也。少时家贫，好读书，有田三十亩，独与兄伯居。伯常耕田，纵平使游学。平为人长大美色。人或谓陈平曰：“贫何食而肥若是？”其嫂嫉平之不视家生产，曰：“亦食糠覈耳。有叔如此，不如无有。”伯闻之，逐其妇而弃之。

及平长，可娶妻，富人莫肯与者，贫者平亦耻之。久之，户牖富人有张负，张负女孙五嫁而夫辄死，人莫敢娶。平欲得之。邑中有丧，平贫，侍丧，以先往后罢为助。张负既见之丧所，独

【今译】

丞相陈平，是阳武县户牖乡人。小时候家贫，喜欢读书，有田地三十亩，仅同兄长陈伯一起居住。陈伯经常耕田，支持陈平出外拜师求学。陈平长得身材高大，相貌英俊。有人对陈平说：“你家贫穷，吃什么东西如此肥大呢？”他的嫂嫂恼恨陈平不顾家里生产，说：“也不过吃米糠罢了。有个这样的小叔，不如没有。”陈伯听说，就驱逐了他的妻子并休弃了她。

等到陈平长大，应当娶妻了，可是富贵家的女儿没有肯嫁给他的，娶贫穷家的女子陈平也感到耻辱。过了很长时间，户牖富人有个叫张负的，张负的孙女五次嫁人而丈夫都死了，没有人再敢娶她。陈平想娶她。乡里有丧事，陈平贫穷，便去帮人家办丧事，靠着早去晚回多得些报酬来补家用。张负在丧家已经见到陈



Prime Minister Chen Ping

Prime Minister Chen Ping was a citizen of Huyou in Yangwu county. In his boyhood his family was poor but he loved reading. He lived with his elder brother, who tilled their thirty *mu* of land, letting him leave home to study.

Chen Ping was tall and handsome. Once someone asked, "What do you eat to grow so plump, poor as you are?"

His sister-in-law, who disliked him because he did nothing to help on the farm, replied, "He eats both the grain and the husks. Such a brother is worse than none!"

When her husband heard this he drove her away and divorced her.

When Chen Ping was old enough to take a wife, no rich family would give him a daughter and he scorned to marry a poor girl. There was a wealthy old woman in Huyou, Dame Zhang, whose granddaughter had been betrothed five times but all of her betrotheds had died, so that no one dared marry her. Chen Ping, however, wanted her as his wife. Whenever there was a funeral in the town, Chen Ping, being



【原文】

视伟平，平亦以故后去。负随平至其家，家乃负郭穷巷，以敝席为门，然门外多有长者车辙。张负归，谓其子仲曰：“吾欲以女孙予陈平。”张仲曰：“平贫不事事，一县中尽笑其所为，独奈何予女乎？”负曰：“人固有好美如陈平而长贫贱者乎？”卒与女。为平贫，乃假贷币以聘，予酒肉之资以内妇。负诫其孙曰：“毋以贫故，事人不谨。事兄伯如事父，事嫂如母。”平既娶张氏女，资用益饶，游道日广。

里中社，平为宰，分肉食甚均。父老曰：“善，陈孺子之为宰！”平曰：“嗟乎，使平得宰天下，亦如是肉矣！”

【今译】

平，特别看中陈平的高大身材，陈平也因为想讨好张负，最后一个离开丧家。张负跟随陈平来到他家，他家是在靠着城墙的一个偏僻穷巷子里，用破席子当作门，可是门外有许多德高望重者的车辙。张负回去，告诉他的儿子张仲说：“我想把孙女嫁给陈平。”张仲说：“陈平贫穷，又不从事生产，一县里的人都讥笑他的行为，为什么偏要把女儿嫁给他呢？”张负说：“哪有像陈平这样仪表堂堂的人会长久地贫贱呢？”张负终于把孙女嫁给了陈平。因为陈平贫穷，张家就借钱给他作为聘礼，还给他酒肉钱让他置办酒席娶妻。张负告诫他的孙女说：“不要因为他家贫穷，就侍奉人家不谨慎。侍奉兄长陈伯就如同侍奉父亲，侍奉嫂嫂如同侍奉母亲。”陈平已经娶了张氏之女，资财更加宽裕些，交游也一天比一天广。

在库上里神社，陈平做了社宰，主持分割祭肉，每次分肉食非常平均。父老们说：“很好，陈家小子做社宰公平！”陈平说：“唉，假使让我陈平能够主宰天下，也像分祭肉一样公平合理啊！”



poor, would hire out his services, going early and leaving late in the hope of getting better payment. At one funeral Dame Zhang was struck by him and, late as it was when he left, she followed him to his home. She found he lived in a poor lane at the foot of the city wall with only some worn-out matting as a door, yet with many wheel marks outside made by the carriages of prominent men.

Upon her return home, Dame Zhang told her son Zhong, "I mean to marry my grand-daughter to Chen Ping."

"That pauper who does nothing for a living!" protested her son. "He is the laughing-stock of the whole county. Why give him my daughter?"

But Dame Zhang said, "A fine-looking man like Chen Ping will not always be poor." She married her grand-daughter to him, and since Chen Ping was poor she lent him money for the betrothal gifts as well as providing wine and meat at the wedding. Moreover she warned her grand-daughter, "Don't be disrespectful to him because he is poor. You must wait on his elder brother as if he were your father and on his sister-in-law as if she were your mother."

After marrying this daughter of the Zhang family, Chen Ping became better off and acquired more connections. He officiated at the local sacrifices and made a fair division of the sacrificial meat.

All the elders said, "How well young Chen takes charge!"

"Ah!" replied Chen Ping. "Put me in charge of the government and I should do equally well."



【原文】

陈涉起而王陈，使周市略定魏地；立魏咎为魏王，与秦军相攻于临济。陈平固已前谢其兄伯，从少年往事魏王咎于临济。魏王以为太仆。说魏王不听，人或谗之，陈平亡去。

久之，项羽略地至河上，陈平往归之，从入破秦，赐平爵卿。项羽之东王彭城也，汉王还定三秦而东，殷王反楚。项羽乃以平为信武君，将魏王咎客在楚者以往，击降殷王而还。项王使项悍拜平为都尉，赐金二十镒。居无何，汉王攻下殷。项王怒，将诛定殷者将吏。陈平惧诛，乃封其金与印，使使归项王，而平身间行杖剑亡。渡河，船人见其美丈夫独行，疑其亡将，腰中当有金玉宝器，

【今译】

陈涉起义而在陈地称王，派周市去夺取平定原来魏国的土地，拥立魏咎为魏王，与秦朝军队在临济交战。陈平在这以前就已经辞别了他的兄长陈伯，跟随一些年轻人去到临济魏王魏咎手下做事了。魏王任用陈平为太仆。陈平给魏王献计策，魏王不采纳，有人在魏王面前说陈平的坏话，陈平逃跑离去。

过了很长时间，项羽攻城略地到达黄河边上，陈平前往投奔项羽，随从项羽入关打败秦军，项羽赐给陈平卿一级的爵位。项羽东去，在彭城称王，汉王回定三秦而后往东，殷王反叛楚王。项羽于是任用陈平为信武君，率领魏王魏咎留在楚国的部下前往，打败并使殷王投降而回。项王派项悍拜陈平为都尉，赐黄金二十镒。没过多久，汉王攻下殷地。项王大怒，要诛杀前次平定殷地的将军官吏。陈平害怕被诛杀，就封好项羽赐给他的黄金和官印，派人送还给项王，自己单身手持宝剑从小路逃跑了。陈平渡黄河时，船家见他是个美男子，独自一人行走，怀疑他是个逃亡的将军，腰中应该有金玉宝器，用眼睛盯着陈平，想杀死陈



When Chen She rose in revolt and became king of Chen, he sent Zhou She to conquer Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), set up Wei Jiu as king there, and fought the Qin troops at Linji. Chen Ping, who had already left his brother, went with some other young men to join the king of Wei at Linji. He was appointed master of the carriages, but his advice to the king was not accepted; so when someone slandered him he went away.

Later, when Xiang Yu advanced to the Yellow River, Chen Ping joined him and accompanied him to Qin, where he was made a minister. Xiang Yu went east to make Pengcheng his capital, while Liu Bang turned back to conquer the land of Qin and advanced east, and the king of Yin revolted against Chu. Then Xiang Yu made Chen Ping the lord of Xinwu and sent him with the king of Wei's troops in Chu to attack the king of Yin, who surrendered.

Upon Chen Ping's return, Xiang Yu sent Xiang Han to appoint him a chief commander and present him with twenty *yi* of gold. Almost at once, however, Liu Bang conquered Yin, and Xiang Yu in his rage decided to punish the officers in charge there. Chen Ping, afraid he would be executed, returned his gold and seal through a messenger to Xiang Yu and armed only with a sword fled alone by secret ways.

When he was crossing the river, the boatman suspected that this fine-looking man travelling alone must be some run-away officer car-



【原文】

目之，欲杀平。平恐，乃解衣裸而佐刺船。船人知其无有，乃止。

平遂至修武降汉，因魏无知求见汉王，汉王召入。是时万石君奋为汉王中涓，受平谒，入见平。平等七人俱进，赐食。王曰：“罢，就舍矣。”平曰：“臣为事来，所言不可以过今日。”于是汉王与语而悦之，问曰：“子之居楚何官？”曰：“为都尉。”是日乃拜平为都尉，使为参乘，典护军。诸将尽喧，曰：“大王一日得楚之亡卒，未知其高下，而即与同载，反使监护军长者！”汉王闻之，愈益幸平。遂与东伐项王。至彭城，为楚所败。引而还，收散兵至荥阳，以平为亚将，属于韩王信，军广武。

【今译】

平。陈平很害怕，就解开衣服，袒露身子，帮助船夫撑船。船家知道他一无所有，才没谋害他。

陈平于是到达修武，投降汉王，通过魏无知求见汉王，汉王召他进去。这时万石君奋做汉王的中涓，接过陈平的名帖，引陈平入见汉王。陈平等七人一同进入，汉王赐给他们饭食。汉王说：“吃完饭，就去休息吧。”陈平说：“我是有事而来，所说的话不可以越过今日。”于是汉王与他交谈并很喜欢他，问道：“您在楚国身居何官？”陈平说：“做都尉。”这天汉王就拜陈平为都尉，让他做参乘，主管护军事务。诸位将领都喧哗起来，说：“大王得到楚国的逃兵刚刚一天，不知他的能力大小，就与他同乘一车，反而让他监护我们这些老将！”汉王听说了，更加宠信陈平。于是就让陈平跟随汉王东去讨伐项王。到达彭城，被楚军打败。引军而回，收集散兵而后到达荥阳，汉王任用陈平为亚将，隶属韩王信，驻军在广武。



rying gold, jade or other treasures. There was murder in the ferryman's eyes. Chen Ping stripped off his clothes in alarm and helped to punt the boat. The boatman saw that he had nothing, and gave up his plan.

Chen Ping went to Xiuwu and surrendered to Liu Bang, gaining an audience through the good offices of Wei Wuzhi. Liu Bang's chamberlain at this time was Shi Fen, known as the Lord of Ten Thousand Piculs, who interviewed Chen Ping and introduced him.

After Chen Ping and six others had been received and given food, Liu Bang dismissed them saying, "All right, go back now to your hostel."

"I have come on business," objected Chen Ping. "What I have to say cannot wait until tomorrow."

Liu Bang talked with him and was favourably impressed.

"What post did you have in Chu?" he asked.

Chen Ping answered, "I was an army officer."

That same day Liu Bang appointed him an army officer and his attendant in the royal carriage, making him the officer in charge of army discipline. The other officers were dumbfounded and complained, "The king has just got hold of this deserter from Chu and, with no idea of his ability, he is letting him share the royal carriage and control us."

When Liu Bang heard this, he showed even greater favour to Chen Ping. The men of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) marched east to attack Xiang Yu but suffered a reverse at Pengcheng and withdrew, regrouping their scattered forces at Xingyang. Chen Ping, made lieutenant general under King Xin of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), encamped his troops at Guangwu.

【原文】

绛侯、灌婴等咸谗陈平曰：“平虽美丈夫，如冠玉耳，其中未必有也。臣闻平居家时，盗其嫂；事魏不容，亡归楚；归楚不中，又亡归汉。今日大王尊官之，令护军。臣闻平受诸将金，金多者得善处，金少者得恶处。平，反复乱臣也，愿王察之。”汉王疑之，召让魏无知。无知曰：“臣所言者，能也；陛下所问者，行也。今有尾生、孝己之行而无益处于胜负之数，陛下何暇用之乎？楚、汉相距，臣进奇谋之士，顾其计诚足以利国家不耳。且盗嫂受金又何足疑乎？”汉王召让平曰：“先生事魏不中，遂事楚而去，今又从吾游，信者固多心乎？”平曰：“臣事魏王，魏王不能用臣说，故去事

【今译】

绛侯、灌婴等人都谗害陈平说：“陈平虽然是个美男子，只不过像帽子上的玉罢了，他内中未必有真才实学。我们听说陈平在家的時候，与嫂嫂私通；侍奉魏王，不被所容，逃亡到楚；归顺楚王后又不相合，又逃跑归顺汉王。如今大王给他很尊贵的官职，让他监护军中将领。我们听说陈平接受诸将的金钱，给他金钱多的就能得到好处，给他金钱少的就得到差的待遇。陈平，是个反复无常的乱臣，希望大王明察。”汉王对陈平有了怀疑，召见魏无知并责备他。无知说：“我所说的是他的才能，您所问的是他的品行。现在如果有人有尾生、孝己的好品行，可是对胜负没有起任何的作用，陛下哪有闲工夫使用这样的人呢？楚、汉相争，我给您推荐有奇谋的士人，只看他的计谋确实足以有利于国家与否而已。至于私通嫂嫂，接受金钱，又有什么值得怀疑的呢？”汉王召见陈平，责备他说：“先生为魏王做事不相投，于是就去侍奉楚王而又离去，如今又跟随了我，讲信用的人原本是这样三心二意的吗？”陈平说：“我侍奉魏王，魏王不能采用我的计策，所以



Then Zhou Bo, Guan Ying and others spoke slightly of him. "Chen Ping is a fine-looking fellow," they said, "but jade ornaments on a cap do not mean there is anything inside the head. We hear that at home he had an affair with his sister-in-law; not doing well in Wei he fled to Xiang Yu; but failing to please him, he fled to us. Now Your Majesty has honoured and trusted him, making him the officer in charge of army discipline, yet hear that he accepts bribes from the officers. Those who give the most get good jobs, those who give little get inferior posts. He is obviously a dangerous turncoat. We hope you will look into this, sir."

Liu Bang, his suspicions aroused, summoned Wei Wuzhi and reproached him for recommending Chen Ping.

"I recommended him for his ability," replied Wei Wuzhi.

"But Your Majesty is questioning his private conduct. If you had men with the virtue of Wei Sheng and Xiao Ji who could not help to win the war, what use would they be to you, sir? Now that Chu and Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) are fighting it out, all I consider when I recommend a brilliant strategist is whether his plans will benefit our state or not. What does it matter if he had an affair with his sister-in-law or accepted bribes?"

Then Liu Bang sent for Chen Ping and reproached him saying, "You failed to do well in the service of Wei, then left the service of Chu, and now you have come to me. Is it right to chop and change so often?"



【原文】

项王。项王不能信人，其所任爱，非诸项即妻之昆弟，虽有奇士不能用，平乃去楚。闻汉王之能用人，故归大王。臣裸身来，不受金无以为资。诚臣计画有可采者，愿大王用之；使无可用者，金俱在，请封输官，得请骸骨。”汉王乃谢。厚赐，拜为护军中尉，尽护诸将。诸将乃不敢复言。

其后，楚急攻，绝汉甬道，围汉王于荥阳城。久之，汉王患之，请割荥阳以西以和。项王不听。汉王谓陈平曰：“天下纷纷，何时定乎？”陈平曰：“项王为人，恭敬爱人，士之廉节好礼者多归之。至于行功爵邑，重之，士亦以此不附。今大王慢而少礼，士廉

【今译】

离去侍奉项王。项王不能信用人，他所宠爱的，不是那些项氏家族的人，就是他妻子的兄长弟弟，虽然有怀有奇谋的人也不能被任用，我才离开楚王。听说汉王能用人，所以来归顺大王。我空身前来，不接受金钱，是无法办事的。如果我的计划有可采用的，希望大王采用；假使没有可采用的，金钱尚在，请让我封好送入官府，就允许我辞职回家。”汉王于是向他道歉，给他许多财物，拜陈平为护军中尉，监护所有的军中将领。诸位将领就不敢再进谗言了。

此后，楚王猛烈进攻，断绝汉王运粮通道，把汉王围困在荥阳城。过了很长时间，汉王对此很忧患，请求割荥阳以西的土地与楚王讲和。项王不同意。汉王对陈平说：“天下乱纷纷，何时才能平定呢？”陈平说：“项王的为人，恭敬爱人，士人有廉节行为和讲究礼仪的大都归顺了他。至于论功行赏，赐爵封邑时，却犹豫不决，士人也因此不再归顺他了。如今大王傲慢而又缺少礼



"The king of Wei would not take my advice: that is why I left him to serve Xiang Yu," said Chen Ping. "But Xiang Yu is incapable of trusting others and employs or favours only his own clan or his wives' relatives, and is unable to make use of men of talent. That is why I left him. I came here because Your Majesty had the reputation of knowing how to use men. I arrived empty-handed and should have had nothing to live on had I not accepted some money. If my plans are any good, you can adopt them. If not, I still have the money and shall give it to the treasury, and then beg leave to go home."

Liu Bang apologized and loaded him with gifts, appointing him provost marshal to supervise the actions of all his generals, who after that dared say no more.

Later the Chu army launched a sudden attack, cut off Han's grain supply and besieged Liu Bang at Xingyang till in his alarm he sued for peace, offering Xiang Yu all the land west of Xingyang. But Xiang Yu refused his terms.

The king said to Chen Ping, "The land is in utter confusion — shall we never have peace?"

"King Xiang Yu is courteous and considerate," answered Chen Ping. "That is why men of honour who value ceremony flock to him. But when it comes to rewarding distinguished service with ranks and



【原文】

节者不来；然大王能饶人以爵邑，士之顽钝嗜利无耻者亦多归汉。诚各去其两短，袭其两长，天下指麾则定矣。然大王恣侮人，不能得廉节之士。顾楚有可乱者，彼项王骨鲠之臣亚父、钟离昧、龙且、周殷之属，不过数人耳。大王诚能出捐数万斤金，行反间，间其君臣，以疑其心，项王为人意忌信谗，必内相诛。汉因举兵而攻之，破楚必矣。”汉王以为然，乃出黄金四万斤，与陈平，恣所为，不问其出入。

陈平既多以金纵反间于楚军，宣言诸将钟离昧等为项王将，功多矣，然而终不得裂地而王，欲与汉为一，以灭项氏而分王其地。

【今译】

节，士人比较有廉节的不来归顺；可是大王能够舍得给人以爵位封邑，士人中那些圆滑没有骨气的、惟利无耻的人也都前来归顺汉。如果你们各自去掉双方的短处，发扬你们各自的长处，天下招一招手就会平定了。可是大王任意侮辱人，不能得到廉节的士人。想来楚军有可以扰乱的地方，那项王那里忠正敢谏的大臣是亚父、钟离昧、龙且、周殷等人，不过几个人罢了。大王如果能够拿出几万斤黄金，进行反间计，离间他们君臣，让他们都有了疑心，项王为人猜忌信谗，一定会在内部互相诛杀。汉王在此时举兵攻打他们，攻破楚军是必然的了。”汉王认为是这样，于是拿出黄金四万斤，交给陈平，任凭他去做事，不过问他用了多少和怎样用的。

陈平已经用了许多黄金，大肆在楚军中进行反间计，在诸位将领中散布言论，说钟离昧等人为项王率军，立下许多功劳，可是始终得不到封地为王，他们想和汉王统一起来，消灭项氏而瓜



fiefs, he is tight-fisted, and for this reason no one stays with him long. You, sir, are so insulting and rude that men of honour do not come to you, while your generosity with fiefs make shameless fools who are out for profit flock to you. Could you get rid of both faults and adopt both virtues, you might pacify the empire as easily as raising a finger. But your overbearing ways will never win over men of honour. Of course, Chu is vulnerable too. Xiang Yu has only a few officers as staunch as Fan Zeng, Zhongli Mo, Long Ju and Zhou Yin. If you, sir, would spend a few tens of thousands of pieces of gold to spread rumours and sow dissension between him and these men, he will doubt their loyalty. What with Xiang Yu's suspicious nature and his proneness to listen to slander, they are bound to be set at odds. Then if you raise an army to attack them, you will undoubtedly triumph."

Liu Bang, approving this plan, gave him forty thousand pieces of gold to use at his discretion, not asking for any account.

Chen Ping used most of this gold to sow dissension in the Chu army. Word was spread that generals like Zhongli Mo, who had served

【原文】

项羽果意不信钟离昧等。项王既疑之，使使至汉。汉王为太牢具，举进。见楚使，即佯惊曰：“吾以为亚父使，乃项王使！”复持去，更以恶草具进楚使。楚使归，具以报项王。项王果大疑亚父。亚父欲急攻下荥阳城，项王不信，不肯听。亚父闻项王疑之，乃怒曰：“天下事大定矣，君王自为之！愿请骸骨归！”归，未至彭城，疽发背而死。陈平乃夜出女子二千人荥阳城东门，楚因击之，陈平乃与汉王从城西门夜出去。遂入关，收散兵复东。

其明年，淮阴侯破齐，自立为齐王，使使言之汉王。汉王大怒而骂，陈平蹶汉王。汉王亦悟，乃厚遇齐使，使张子房卒立信

【今译】

分他的土地，各自称王。项羽果然不再信用钟离昧等人。项王既然对他们有了怀疑，就派人到汉军那里打探。汉王准备丰富的酒宴，让人端进。汉王见到楚王使者，就假装吃惊地说：“我以为是亚父的使者，原来是项王的使者！”又命人撤下酒宴，改换粗劣的饭菜端给楚王的使者。项王使者回去，详细地报告给项王，项王果然大大怀疑亚父。亚父想急攻下荥阳城，项王不信任他，不肯听他的意见。亚父听说项王怀疑他，就发怒说：“天下事大概定局了，君王自己去做吧！希望让我辞职回家！”亚父回去未到彭城，背上毒疮发作而死。陈平于是夜里放走二千名女子出荥阳城的东门，楚王因此进击这些妇女，而陈平就与汉王从城西门连夜出走。于是入关，收集散兵再次东去。

第二年，淮阴侯韩信攻破齐国，自立为齐王，派使者向汉王报告。汉王大怒而斥骂韩信，陈平偷偷地用脚踩汉王。汉王也醒悟了，就优厚地款待齐国使者，派张子房最终去封韩信为齐王。



Xiang Yu well yet never been granted fiefs or made princes, meant to join Han to destroy Xiang Yu and divide up his land. Then, sure enough, Xiang Yu began to distrust these men.

Xiang Yu, his misgivings already aroused, sent an envoy to Liu Bang, who prepared a great feast for him. But when the man entered, Liu Bang made a show of surprise. "I thought you were from the Patriarch Fan Zeng," he said. "But I see you come from Xiang Yu." The feast was removed and poorer dishes brought in.

When the envoy went back and reported this, Xiang Yu grew very suspicious of Fan Zeng and, not trusting him, would not allow him to attack the city of Xingyang.

As soon as he knew that Xiang Yu doubted him, Fan Zeng told him angrily, "Now that the fate of the empire is virtually settled you can manage for yourself, sir. Please allow me to go home." So he left, but an abscess broke out on his back and he died before reaching Pengcheng.

Then Chen Ping sent two thousand women out by night through the east gate of Xingyang, and while the Chu army attacked them he and Liu Bang slipped out by the west gate. Re-entering the Pass, they collected their scattered troops and marched east again.

The following year Han Xin conquered Qi, made himself the king there and sent an envoy to announce this to Liu Bang. Liu Bang flew into a passion and started swearing, till Chen Ping trod on his foot and he took the hint. Having treated the envoy handsomely, he sent Zhang



【原文】

为齐王。封平以户牖乡。用其奇计策，卒灭楚。常以护军中尉从定燕王臧荼。

汉六年，人有上书告楚王韩信反。高帝问诸将，诸将曰：“亟发兵坑竖子耳。”高帝默然。问陈平，平固辞谢，曰：“诸将云何？”上具告之。陈平曰：“人之上书言信反，有知之者乎？”曰：“未有。”曰：“信知之乎？”曰：“不知。”陈平曰：“陛下精兵孰与楚？”上曰：“不能过。”平曰：“陛下将用兵有能过韩信者乎？”上曰：“莫及也。”平曰：“今兵不如楚精，而将不能及，而举兵攻之，是趣之战也，窃为陛下危之。”上曰：“为之奈何？”平曰：“古者天子巡狩，会诸侯。南方有云梦，陛下弟出伪游云梦，会诸

【今译】

把户牖乡封给陈平。汉王采用陈平的奇巧计策，终于灭了楚王。陈平曾以护军中尉身份跟随汉王平定燕王臧荼。

汉高祖六年(公元前201年)，有人上书报告楚王韩信谋反。高祖询问诸位将领，众位将领回答说：“赶快发兵活埋这个小子。”高帝沉默不语。又问陈平，陈平一再推辞，说：“众位将领怎么说？”皇上把众将领意见告诉了他。陈平说：“有人上书说韩信反叛，将领中有人知道这件事的吗？”皇上说：“没有。”陈平说：“韩信自己知道吗？”皇上说：“不知道。”陈平说：“陛下精兵与楚王相比谁强？”皇上说：“不能超过楚王。”陈平说：“陛下的将领中指挥军队作战的有能超过韩信的么？”皇上说：“没有谁能赶上他。”陈平说：“如今军队不如楚王精锐，而指挥作战的大将又赶不上他，就这样发兵攻打他，这是促使他与我们作战，我私下认为这样做，陛下将会处于危险境地。”皇上说：“应该怎么办呢？”陈平说：“古代天子巡视各地，会见诸侯。南方有云梦



Liang to confirm Han Xin's new title. He gave Chen Ping the fief of Huyou, and by using his strategies finally defeated Chu. Chen Ping later accompanied the emperor as provost marshal to crush the revolt of Zang Tu, king of Yan.

In the sixth year of Han, someone submitted a letter reporting that Han Xin was plotting revolt. The emperor consulted his generals, all of whom advised, "Send out a force at once to destroy the upstart."

The emperor was silent for a time, then summoned Chen Ping to ask for his opinion. Declining to give it, Chen Ping inquired, "What do your generals say?" When told he asked, "Does anyone know that this letter has been sent?"

"No," said the emperor.

"Does Han Xin know?"

"Not yet."

"How do your troops compare with his?"

"They are no better."

"Have you any commanders who can out-general him?"

"No, they are no match for him."

"So neither your troops nor your generals are as good as his. If you lead an army against him you will be forcing his hand. That strikes me as risky."

"Then what shall I do?"

"The emperors of old used to make imperial tours of inspection and summon all the nobles to meet them. You can give out that you are



【原文】

侯于陈。陈，楚之西界，信闻天子以好出游，其势必无事而郊迎谒。谒，而陛下因擒之，此特一力士之事耳。”高帝以为然，乃发使告诸侯会陈，“吾将南游云梦。”上因随以行。行未至陈，楚王信果郊迎道中。高帝预具武士，见信至，即执缚之，载后车。信呼曰：“天下已定，我固当烹！”高帝顾谓信曰：“若毋声！而反，明矣！”武士反接之，遂会诸侯于陈，尽定楚地。还至洛阳，赦信以为淮阴侯，而与功臣剖符定封。

于是与平剖符，世世勿绝，为户牖侯。平辞曰：“此非臣之功也。”上曰：“吾用先生谋计，战胜克敌，非功而何？”平曰：“非

【今译】

泽，陛下假装出巡到云梦泽，在陈县会合诸侯。陈县，是楚国西方边界，韩信听说天子好意出游，他见此情形一定不会有任何军事防备而且会到郊外迎接拜见。他拜见时，陛下乘机擒住他，这只不过是一个大力士就能做到的呀。”高帝认为他说得对，于是派遣使者告诉诸侯在陈县会合，“我将要南行出游云梦泽”。高祖便随即出发。此行尚未到达陈县，楚王韩信果然在郊外道路上迎接圣驾。高帝预先准备好武士，看见韩信来到，就将他捉住捆绑起来，载在后面的车上。韩信高呼说：“天下已经平定，我当然就应该烹杀了！”高帝回过头来对韩信说：“你不要高声叫了！你反叛，很明显了！”武士将他的两手反捆着。高帝于是在陈县会见诸侯，全部平定了楚地。皇上回到洛阳，赦免韩信，改封他为淮阴侯，而与此次有功之臣剖符确定封赏。

当时皇上与陈平剖符，世代不断绝，封为户牖侯。陈平辞谢说：“这不是我的功劳。”皇上说：“我采用先生的计谋，战胜灭敌，这不是功劳是什么？”陈平说：“没有魏无知，我怎么能



going south to Yunmeng Marsh to meet the nobles of different states at Chen on the western boundary of Chu. When Han Xin hears that you are on a goodwill trip, he will feel secure and come out to pay homage. Then you can have him seized. All you need for that is a strong man."

The emperor, approving, sent envoys to summon different nobles to Chen on his way south to Yunmeng. He set out with a retinue and was met by Han Xin on the road to Chen. The emperor had guards ready. They arrested Han Xin and bound him to a rear carriage.

"Now the empire is won," cried Han Xin, "I suppose I deserve to be thrown into the cauldron!"

"Hold your tongue!" shouted the emperor, looking back. "Your treason is known."

Then the guards trussed Han Xin up and took him away, while the emperor went on to meet other nobles at Chen and pacified the land of Chu. Returning to Luoyang, he pardoned Han Xin and made him marquis of Huaiyin. This was when the emperor gave tallies of office and fiefs to his followers according to their merit.

A tally was given to Chen Ping with the promise that his title, marquis of Huyou, should be retained by his descendants.

Chen Ping declined, saying, "I have done nothing to merit this."

"It was through using your plans that I defeated my enemy," retorted the emperor. "Isn't that your merit?"

"But if not for Wei Wuzhi's recommendation, I could never have entered your service," said Chen Ping.



【原文】

魏无知臣安得进？”上曰：“若子可谓不背本矣。”乃复赏魏无知。其明年，以护军中尉从攻反者韩王信于代。卒至平城，为匈奴所围，七日不得食。高帝用陈平奇计，使单于阏氏，围以得开。高帝既出，其计秘，世莫得闻。

高帝南过曲逆，上其城，望见其屋室甚大，曰：“壮哉县！吾行天下，独见洛阳与是耳。”顾问御史曰：“曲逆户口几何？”对曰：“始秦时三万余户，间者兵数起，多亡匿，今现五千户。”于是乃诏御史，更以陈平为曲逆侯，尽食之，除前所食户牖。

其后常以护军中尉从攻陈豨及黥布。凡六出奇计，辄益邑，凡六益封。奇计或颇秘，世莫能闻也。

【今译】

得以进身呢？”皇上说：“像您这样可称得上不忘本了。”高帝又赏赐了魏无知。第二年，陈平以护军中尉的身份随从高帝在代地攻打反叛的韩王信。匆忙行军到达平城，被匈奴所围困，七天不得食物吃。高帝用陈平的计策，使人到单于阏氏那里去疏通，才得以解围。高帝已经出来，其计策非常秘密，世人没有谁得知此事。

高帝南去经过曲逆，登上那座城池，望见那屋室非常大，说：“这个县真壮观啊！我巡行天下，惟独见到洛阳与这里一样。”他回过头来问御史说：“曲逆户口有多少？”御史回答说：“当初在秦朝时有三万多户，中间多次发生兵乱，许多人都逃亡躲藏起来，如今现存有五千户。”这时皇上诏告御史，改封陈平为曲逆侯，全县的赋税都归属陈平食用，取消以前所封的户牖乡。

这以后陈平以护军中尉的身份跟随高帝攻打陈豨及黥布。他一共出过六次奇计，每一次都增加食邑，一共增加六次封地。陈平的奇计有的很秘密，世上没有谁能知晓奇计的内容。



"I am glad you don't forget the man to whom you owe your advancement," replied the emperor and rewarded Wei Wuzhi too.

The following year Chen Ping accompanied the emperor as provost marshal to Dai to suppress the revolt of King Xin of Han. Suddenly surrounded by the Huns at Pingcheng, they were cut off from supplies for seven days. Chen Ping suggested a ruse to the emperor, who sent a message to the wife of the Hunnish khan so that the siege was raised and they escaped. What this ruse was is still a mystery.

The emperor, traveling south, ascended the city wall of Quni and was impressed by the number of large buildings there. "What a magnificent town!" he exclaimed. "In all my journeys through the empire I have seen no place but Luoyang to compare with this." He turned to his secretary and asked, "What is the population of Quni?"

"Under Qin there were more than thirty thousand households," was the answer. "Since then, many citizens have fled or gone into hiding because of all the fighting. There are now only five thousand households."

The emperor ordered his secretary to appoint Chen Ping marquis of Quni with the whole district as his fief instead of Huyou. In his capacity as provost marshal Chen Ping later accompanied the emperor on his expeditions against Chen Xi and Ying Bu. In all he suggested six ingenious ruses and his fief was six times enlarged. But these ruses were closely guarded secrets, not known to the world.



【原文】

高帝从破布军还，病创，徐行至长安。燕王卢绾反，上使樊哙以相国将兵攻之。既行，人有短恶哙者。高帝怒曰：“哙见吾病，乃冀我死也。”用陈平谋而召绾侯周勃受诏床下，曰：“陈平亟驰传载勃代哙将，平至军中即斩哙头！”二人既受诏，驰传未至军，行计之曰：“樊哙，帝之故人也，功多，且又乃吕后弟吕嫪之夫，有亲且贵，帝以忿怒故，欲斩之，则恐后悔。宁囚而致上，上自诛之。”未至军，为坛，以节召樊哙。哙受诏，即反接载槛车，传诣长安，而令绾侯勃代将，将兵定燕反县。

平行闻高帝崩，平恐吕太后及吕嫪谗怒，乃驰传先去。逢使

【今译】

高帝从随平定了黥布的军队回来，受伤得病，缓慢地行至长安。燕王卢绾反叛，皇上派樊哙以相国的身份率兵前去攻打他。已经出发了，有人在高帝面前说樊哙的坏话。高帝发怒说：“樊哙见我有病，是希望我早死。”高帝采用陈平的计谋，召见绾侯周勃，让他在病床下受诏，皇上说：“陈平迅速乘驿站车载着周勃去取代樊哙统率军队，陈平到了军营中立即将樊哙斩首！”二人受诏以后，乘驿站车子急行，尚未到达军营，边行边商议说：“樊哙是皇上的老朋友，战功很多，而且又是吕后妹妹吕嫪的丈夫，与皇室有亲戚关系而且尊贵，皇上因为愤怒的缘故，想将他斩首，恐怕过后会后悔的。我们宁可把他囚禁起来，交给皇上，让皇上自己亲手诛杀他吧。”他们未到军营就筑起土坛，用皇帝赐的符节召见樊哙。樊哙受诏，立即把他反绑起来装进囚车，由驿站道上送往长安，让绾侯周勃替樊哙做统帅，率兵平定燕国及反叛的各县。

陈平在返回途中听说高帝去世，他害怕吕太后及她妹妹吕嫪听信谗言而发怒，于是乘驿站车子先行。正好碰上使者诏陈平与



The emperor, wounded while fighting against Ying Bu, travelled back by easy stages to Chang'an. Then King Lu Wan of Yan rebelled and the emperor sent the state chancellor Fan Kuai with an army to attack him. After Fan Kuai's departure, some men spoke ill of him to the emperor, who exclaimed in anger, "Fan Kuai knows I am ill and is hoping I will die!" On Chen Ping's advice he summoned Zhou Bo, marquis of Jiang, to his bedside and gave these orders: "Chen Ping will escort you at once by post carriage to take over Fan Kuai's command. When you reach the army Chen Ping will cut off Fan Kuai's head."

Having received these orders, the two men set off with all speed. But on the road they talked things over and said, "Fan Kuai is an old friend of the emperor and has many achievements to his credit. Besides, he is the husband of Lü Xu, younger sister to Emperess Lü. He is close to the throne and high in rank. In his rage the emperor has ordered his death, but he may regret it later. We had better arrest Fan Kuai and take him to court for the emperor to mete out the punishment himself." So before reaching the army they erected a dais and summoned Fan Kuai with the imperial credentials. Having announced the imperial command, they arrested Fan Kuai, put him in a cage on a cart and sent him to Chang'an while Zhou Bo took over the army and led it to subdue the insurgent districts of Yan.

On his way back Chen Ping received news of the emperor's death and, afraid that the empress and her sister might slander him in their



【原文】

者诏平与灌婴屯于荥阳。平受诏，立复驰至宫，哭甚哀，因奏事丧前。吕太后哀之，曰：“君劳，出休矣！”平畏谗之就，因固请得宿卫中。太后乃以为郎中令，曰：“傅教孝惠。”是后吕嬖谗乃不得行。樊噲至，则赦复爵邑。

孝惠帝六年，相国曹参卒，以安国侯王陵为右丞相，陈平为左丞相。

王陵者，故沛人，始为县豪，高祖微时，兄事陵。陵少文，任气，好直言。及高祖起沛，入至咸阳，陵亦自聚党数千人，居南阳，不肯从沛公。及汉王之还攻项籍，陵乃以兵属汉。项羽取陵母

【今译】

灌婴停驻在荥阳。陈平受诏，立即再乘驿站车子赶至宫中，哭得非常悲哀，乘机在高帝灵柩前向吕后奏告奉命处理樊噲之事的经过。吕太后哀怜他，说：“您辛苦了，出宫休息吧！”陈平害怕谗言加身，因此坚决请求留在宫中宿卫。太后就任命他为郎中令，说：“辅佐教导孝惠皇帝吧。”此后吕嬖进谗言才没有发生效用。樊噲被押至长安，就被赦免，恢复了原来的爵位和封邑。

孝惠帝六年(公元前189年)，相国曹参去世，任用安国侯王陵为右丞相，陈平为左丞相。

王陵原是沛县人，当初是县里的富豪，高祖贫贱时，像对待兄长一样在王陵手下做事。王陵缺少文化，靠意气用事，喜欢直言。等到高祖在沛县起兵，进入关中到达咸阳，王陵也自行聚集党徒几千人，居住南阳，不肯跟随沛公。等到汉王回过来攻打项籍，王陵才率兵归属了汉王。项羽捉到王陵的母亲安置在军营



anger, he travelled post-haste. On the road he met a messenger and received orders to station himself with Guan Ying at Xingyang. But instead he went straight to the palace where, having lamented bitterly before the coffin, he reported to Empress Lü all that had passed.

"You have done your best," she said, taking pity on him. "Now go and rest." But Chen Ping, fearing defamation, begged to be allowed to stay in the palace.

The empress appointed him chief of the palace guard and told him, "You must help to educate the young emperor." After that Lü Xu could no longer speak evil of him. Fan Kuai upon arriving was pardoned and his fiefs were restored to him.

In the sixth year of Emperor Hui, the chancellor Cao Shen died and Wang Ling, marquis of Anguo, was made senior prime minister, with Chen Ping as junior prime minister.

Wang Ling was a native of Pei and a prominent figure in that district. Before the First Emperor of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) rose to power he treated Wang Ling as his elder brother. Wang Ling was unconventional, impulsive, and frank in his speech. When the emperor raised an army at Pei to march against Xianyang, Wang Ling had a troop several thousand strong at Nanyang but he did not follow the emperor. Not till the emperor turned east to attack Xiang Yu did Wang Ling and his men come over to Han. Xiang Yu detained Wang Ling's



【原文】

置军中，陵使至，则东向坐陵母，欲以招陵。陵母既私送使者，泣曰：“为老妾语陵，谨事汉王。汉王，长者也，无以老妾故，持二心。妾以死送使者。”遂伏剑而死。项王怒，烹陵母。陵卒从汉王定天下。以善雍齿，雍齿，高帝之仇，而陵本无意从高帝，以故晚封，为安国侯。

安国侯既为右丞相，二岁，孝惠帝崩。高后欲立诸吕为王，问王陵，王陵曰：“不可。”问陈平，陈平曰：“可。”吕太后怒，乃佯迁陵为帝太傅，实不用陵。陵怒，谢疾免，杜门竟不朝请，七年而卒。

陵之免丞相，吕太后乃徙平为右丞相，以辟阳侯审食其为左丞

【今译】

中，王陵的使者到来，项羽就让王陵的母亲朝东坐着，想以此来招降王陵。王陵的母亲私下送走使者时哭着说：“请替我告诉王陵，让他谨慎地侍奉汉王。汉王德高望重，让王陵不要因为我就有二心。我以一死给你送行。”于是自刎而死。项王大怒，烹煮王陵母亲。王陵终于跟随汉王平定天下。他因为与雍齿友好，雍齿是高帝的仇人，而王陵原本无意跟随高帝，因为这个缘故受封较晚，被封为安国侯。

安国侯已经做了右丞相，两年后，孝惠帝去世。高后想立诸位吕氏为王，询问王陵，王陵说：“不可以。”吕后询问陈平，陈平说：“可以。”吕太后发怒，就假装升王陵为皇帝的太傅，实际上不用王陵了。王陵发怒，称病辞职，闭门不出，始终不上朝拜见，七年后去世了。

王陵被免丞相之职后，吕太后就改封陈平为右丞相，任用辟阳侯审食其为左丞相。左丞相没有设办事处所，经常在宫中



mother in his army, and when Wang Ling's messenger arrived he placed her in a seat of honour, hoping to win her son over to his side. Wang Ling's mother secretly saw the messenger off and, weeping, said, "Tell my son to serve his prince well. The king of Han is a good man and Ling must not break faith with him because of me. Let my death speed you on your way!" With that she drew a sword and killed herself. Xiang Yu in his fury threw her corpse into the cauldron.

So Wang Ling helped Liu Bang win the empire. But because he was friendly with Yong Chi, whom the emperor hated, and had not at first intended to follow the emperor, he was not enfeoffed as marquis of Anguo till late. After he had served as senior prime minister for two years, Emperor Hui died and Emperess Lü consulted Wang Ling as to whether she might make the members of her family princes. His answer was "No". But when she consulted Chen Ping, he approved. Then the empress in her displeasure transferred Wang Ling to the post of senior tutor, which was in fact a sinecure. Angrily resigning on grounds of illness, he stayed at home, absenting himself from the court, dying seven years later.

After Wang Ling's dismissal, Emperess Lü made Chen Ping the senior prime minister and Shen Yiji, marquis of Piyang, the junior prime minister. Shen Yiji did not work in the ministry but in the palace. He,



【原文】

相。左丞相不治，常给事于中。

食其亦沛人。汉王之败彭城，西，楚取太上皇、吕后为质，食其以舍人侍吕后。其后从破项籍为侯，幸于吕太后。及为相，居中，百官皆因决事。

吕嬃常以前陈平为高帝谋执樊哙，数谗曰：“陈平为相非治事，日饮醇酒，戏妇女。”陈平闻，日益甚。吕太后闻之，私独喜。面质吕嬃于陈平曰：“鄙语曰‘儿妇人口不可用’，顾君与我何如耳。无畏吕嬃之谗也。”

吕太后立诸吕为王，陈平伪听之。及吕太后崩，平与太尉勃合谋，卒诛诸吕，立孝文皇帝，陈平本谋也。审食其免相。

【今译】

处理政务。

审食其也是沛人。汉王在彭城失败后，西去，楚王把太上皇、吕后抓来作为人质，食其以舍人身份侍奉吕后。他后来跟随汉王打败项籍被封为侯，受到吕太后宠幸。等到食其做了左丞相，住在宫中，百官都要通过他决断事情。

吕嬃常因为从前陈平为高帝出主意捉拿樊哙的事，多次进谗言说：“陈平做丞相不治理政事，每天饮美酒，玩妇女。”陈平听说后，饮酒作乐日甚一日。吕太后听说了，暗自欢喜。一次吕太后当着吕嬃的面对陈平说：“俗语说‘小孩和妇人口里说出的话是不可相信的’，看你对我如何罢了。不要怕吕嬃说你的坏话。”

吕太后立诸位吕氏为王，陈平假意听从。等到吕太后去世，陈平与太尉周勃合谋，终于诛灭了诸吕，拥立孝文皇帝，陈平是主谋。审食其被免除了左丞相的职务。



too, was a native of Pei. When Liu Bang was defeated west of Pengcheng and the Chu army seized his father and wife as hostages, Shen Yiji served as steward to the empress. He later joined the army which defeated Xiang Yu and was made a marquis. The empress favoured him. So when he became prime minister and worked in the palace, all officials had to go to him to get anything done.

Lü Xu still bore a grudge against Chen Ping for advising the first Emperor to arrest Fan Kuai. She spread rumours about him saying, "Chen Ping does none of the work of a minister but spends his days drinking and playing about with women."

Chen Ping, knowing this, only indulged himself more each day. And when the empress heard this she was secretly pleased. One day in Lü Xu's presence she told him, "The proverb says, 'Ignore the tattle of children and women.' I judge you by the way you behave to me. Never mind my sister's slander."

Chen Ping had pretended to agree when the empress made members of her family princes, but after her death it was he who drew up the plan whereby he and Grand Marshal Zhou Bo had all the Lü family killed and set Emperor Wen on the throne. Then Shen Yiji was dismissed from office.



【原文】

孝文帝立，以为太尉勃亲以兵诛吕氏，功多；陈平欲让勃尊位，乃谢病。孝文帝初立，怪平病，问之。平曰：“高祖时，勃功不如臣平。及诛诸吕，臣功亦不如勃。愿以右丞相让勃。”于是孝文帝乃以绛侯勃为右丞相，位次第一；平徙为左丞相，位次第二。赐平金千斤，益封三千户。

居顷之，孝文皇帝既益明习国家事，朝而问右丞相勃曰：“天下一岁决狱几何？”勃谢曰：“不知。”问：“天下一岁钱谷出入几何？”勃又谢不知，汗出沾背，愧不能对。于是上亦问左丞相平。平曰：“有主者。”上曰：“主者谓谁？”平曰：“陛下即问决狱，责廷尉；问钱谷，责治粟内史。”上曰：“苟各有主者，而君所主

【今译】

孝文帝即位，认为太尉周勃亲自率兵诛灭诸吕，功劳多；陈平想把尊位让给周勃，就称病告假。孝文帝刚即位，对陈平有病感到奇怪，就询问他。陈平说：“高祖时，周勃的功劳不如我陈平多。等到诛灭诸吕，我的功劳又不如周勃大。希望把右丞相职位让给周勃。”于是孝文帝就任用绛侯周勃为右丞相，位次第一；陈平降为左丞相，位次第二。赐给陈平黄金千斤，增封三千户。

过了一段时间，孝文皇帝已经渐渐明了熟悉国家大事，临朝时问右丞相周勃说：“天下一年要判决多少诉讼案件？”周勃谢罪说：“不知道。”皇上又问：“天下一年钱粮的收入和开支有多少？”周勃又谢罪说：“不知道。”急得他汗流浹背，愧不能对。这时皇上又问左丞相陈平。陈平说：“有主管官吏。”皇上说：“主管的官吏是谁？”陈平说：“陛下如果问决断狱案的，请询问廷尉；如果问钱粮情况，请询问治粟内史。”皇上说：“如果各有



After Emperor Wen came to the throne he considered that Grand Marshal Zhou Bo had rendered him the greatest service by commanding the troops which killed the princes of the Lü clan. Chen Ping, to defer to Zhou Bo, resigned on the pretext of illness. The emperor, who was newly enthroned, questioned him about this in surprise.

"In the time of the First Emperor," said Chen Ping, "Zhou Bo did less than I. But in overthrowing the Lü family he did more. I would like to resign my position as senior prime minister in favour of him."

Then Emperor Wen gave Zhou Bo the highest post of senior prime minister while Chen Ping ranked second as junior prime minister. Chen Ping also received a thousand catties of gold and had his fief increased by three thousand households.

Some time later, when the emperor was more acquainted with affairs of state, he asked his senior prime minister at court, "How many law-suits are settled in the empire every year?"

Zhou Bo answered ruefully, "I do not know."

"What is the empire's annual revenue and expenditure in terms of money and grain?"

Again Zhou Bo had to admit, "I do not know." He was sweating with embarrassment at being unable to answer.

When the emperor put the same question to the junior prime minister, Chen Ping replied, "There are officers in charge of such matters."

"What officers?" asked the emperor.

"If you want to know about law-suits, sir, ask the chief justice," said Chen Ping. "If you want to know about money and grain, ask the minister of revenue."

"If there are officers in charge of these matters, what is your function?" asked the emperor.



【原文】

者何事也？”平谢曰：“主臣！陛下不知其弩下，使待罪宰相。宰相者，上佐天子理阴阳，顺四时，下育万物之宜，外镇抚四夷诸侯，内亲附百姓，使卿、大夫各得任其职焉。”孝文帝乃称善。右丞相大惭，出而让陈平曰：“君独不素教我！”陈平笑曰：“君居其位，不知其任邪？且陛下即问长安中盗贼数，君欲强对邪？”于是绛侯自知其能不如平远矣。居顷之，绛侯谢病请免相，陈平专为一丞相。

孝文帝二年，丞相陈平卒，谥为献侯。子共侯买代侯。二年卒，子简侯恢代侯。二十三年卒，子何代侯。二十三年，何坐略人妻，弃市，国除。

【今译】

主管的官吏，那么您主管的是什么事情呢？”陈平谢罪说：“惶恐得很！陛下不知我的才智低下，使我愧对宰相职务。宰相的职责，是辅佐天子调理阴阳，顺应四时，在下抚育万物适时生长，对外镇抚四夷和诸侯，对内亲附百姓，使卿大夫各自都能胜任他们的职责。”孝文帝于是赞赏他的回答。右丞相非常惭愧，出宫后就责备陈平说：“您为什么不在平时教我回答这些对话呢！”陈平笑着说：“您身居此位，不知道右丞相的职责吗？陛下如果询问长安城中盗贼的数目，您想勉强回答吗？”这时绛侯周勃自知自己的才能是远不如陈平了。过了一段时间，绛侯周勃称说有病，请求免除右丞相之职，陈平独自担任丞相职务。

孝文帝二年（公元前178年），丞相陈平去世，谥为献侯。儿子共侯陈买接替侯位。陈买两年后去世，儿子简侯陈恢继承侯位。二十三年去世，儿子陈何继承侯位。二十三年，陈何因为犯了抢夺别人妻之罪，判以死刑，封国被废除。



"Pardon my presumption," answered Chen Ping humbly. "Your Majesty, overestimating my mean capacity, has honoured me with the post of prime minister. The prime minister's duty is to help his sovereign to regulate the principles of *yin* and *yang*, to carry out projects according to the four seasons, to nurture all things, to control foreign tribes and the nobles, to rule the people with kindness and see that the ministers and officers perform their duties well."

The emperor approved of this answer. Zhou Bo, however, was thoroughly mortified and once they were outside he reproached Chen Ping, saying, "You never taught me how to answer such questions."

Chen Ping retorted with a laugh, "You should know what your post entails. If His Majesty asked you the number of thieves and robbers in the capital, would you try to answer that too?"

Then Zhou Bo realized how much inferior he was to Chen Ping. Later he asked to resign on the grounds of illness and Chen Ping became the sole prime minister.

In the second year of Emperor Wen, Chen Ping died and was given the posthumous title of Marquis Xian. He was succeeded by his son Mai, Marquis Gong, who died two years later. Mai was succeeded by his son Hui, Marquis Jian, who died twenty-three years later. Hui was succeeded by his son He; but twenty-three years later He was executed on the charge of abducting another man's wife, and the fief was abolished.

【原文】

始陈平曰：“我多阴谋，是道家之所禁。吾世即废，亦已矣，终不能复起，以吾多阴祸也。”然其后曾孙陈掌以卫氏亲贵戚，愿得续封陈氏，然终不得。

太史公曰：陈丞相平少时，本好黄帝、老子之术。方其割肉俎上之时，其意固已远矣。倾侧扰攘楚、魏之间，卒归高帝。常出奇计，救纷纠之难，振国家之患。及吕后时，事多故矣，然平竟自脱，定宗庙，以荣名终，称贤相，岂不善始善终哉！非知谋孰能当此者乎？

【今译】

当初陈平说：“我经常使用诡秘的计谋，这是道家所禁忌的。我的后代如果被废黜，也就完了，终将不能再兴起了，这是因为我用阴谋暗中种下的祸因。”可是此后陈平的曾孙陈掌因为靠着是卫氏的亲戚而显贵，希望得以接续陈家原来的封号，但终究没有成功。

太史公说：丞相陈平少年时，原本喜爱黄帝、老子的学说。当他在神社的砧板上分割祭肉的时候，他的志向本来就已很远大了。后来他徘徊于楚、魏之间，最后终于归顺了高帝。经常出奇计，解救纷乱的危机，消除国家的祸患。等到吕后执政时，事情多有变故，然而陈平竟然自己能够逃脱，安定宗庙社稷，终身保持荣耀的地位和名声，被称为贤相，难道不是善始善终吗！如果没有才智谋略，谁能做到这一步呢？





Chen Ping once said, "All my crafty devices run counter to the Taoist Way. Once my descendants decline, they will never rise again, because of all the evil I have done." His great-grandson Chen Zhang, it is true, became related by marriage to the noble house of Wei and asked to have the old fief restored, but this was never done.

The Grand Historian comments: Prime Minister Chen Ping in his youth was attracted to the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi. While carving up the sacrificial meat he already had high ambitions. He vacillated between Chu and Wei before finally joining the First Emperor of Han, and he devised many ingenious plans to overcome difficulties and to save the state from danger. In the time of Empress Lü, although troubles beset him, he not only succeeded in extricating himself but restored the dynasty so that he died a dignitary and was known to posterity as an able minister. Truly, "a good beginning makes a good ending." None but a wise man could have accomplished this.



孙子吴起列传

【原文】

孙子武者，齐人也。以兵法见于吴王阖庐。阖庐曰：“子之十三篇，吾尽观之矣，可以小试勒兵乎？”对曰：“可。”阖庐曰：“可试以妇人乎？”曰：“可。”于是许之，出宫中美女，得百八十人。孙子分为二队，以王之宠姬二人各为队长，皆令持戟。令之曰：“汝知而心与左右手、背乎？”妇人曰：“知之。”孙子曰：“前，则视心；左，视左手；右，视右手；后，即视背。”妇人曰：“诺。”约束既布，乃设铁钺，即三令五申之。于是鼓之右，妇人大笑。孙子曰：“约束不明，申令不熟，将之罪也。”复三令

【今译】

孙武，是齐国人，因为擅长兵法被吴王阖庐接见。阖庐说：“您的十三篇兵书，我全部读过了，能够摆摆队伍小试一下吗？”孙武回答说：“可以。”阖庐说：“能用女人来试一下吗？”孙武说：“可以。”阖庐于是答应下来，叫出宫中的美女，共一百八十人。孙子把她们分为两队，让吴王的两个宠爱的妃子任两队队长，让她们都拿着戟。命令她们说：“你们知道你们的心、左右手及后背吗？”妇人们说：“知道。”孙子说：“向前，就看心口所对的方向；向左，就看左手所在的方向；向右，就看右手所在的方向；向后，就看后背所对的方向。”妇人们说：“是。”命令已经下达，又设置了铁、钺等刑具，把命令重复了几遍。之后就击鼓命她们向右，妇人们大笑。孙子说：“纪律不严明。号令不熟悉，这是将领的过失。”又反复交待了几遍后击鼓让她们向左，妇人



Sun Wu and Wu Qi

Sun Wu, a native of Qi, gained an audience with King Helü of Wu on the strength of his military theory.

"I have read all thirteen chapters of your book," said the king. "Will you train a few troops as an experiment?"

"Very well," replied Sun Wu.

"Will you try with women?"

"If you wish."

The king sent him one hundred and eighty beauties from the palace, and Sun Wu divided them into two companies with the king's two favourite concubines as their leaders. Having made them take up halberds, he asked, "Do you know the front from back, and your left hand from your right?"

The women assured him that they did.

"When I give the order to advance, go forward. At the order 'Left!' turn towards your left hand, at 'Right!' turn towards your right, at 'Retreat!' turn back."

The women assented.

Having laid down these rules, he had executioners' swords and axes made ready and repeated his instructions a third and order "Turn right!" The women burst out laughing.

Sun Wu said, "If the rules are not clear and orders are not understood, the commander is to blame." One more he repeated his instructions a third and a fourth time, then beat drums and gave the



【原文】

五申而鼓之左，妇人复大笑。孙子曰：“约束不明，申令不熟，将之罪也；既已明而不如法者，吏士之罪也。”乃欲斩左、右队长。吴王从台上观，见且斩爱姬，大骇。趣使使下令曰：“寡人已知将军能用兵矣。寡人非此二姬，食不甘味，愿勿斩也！”孙子曰：“臣既已受命为将，将在军，君命有所不受。”遂斩队长二人以徇。用其次为队长，于是复鼓之。妇人左右、前后、跪起皆中规矩绳墨，无敢出声。于是孙子使使报王曰：“兵既整齐，王可试下观之，唯王所欲用之，虽赴水火犹可也。”吴王曰：“将军罢休就舍，寡人不愿下观。”孙子曰：“王徒好其言，不能用其实。”于是阖庐知孙子能用兵，卒以为将。西破强楚，入郢；北威齐、

【今译】

们又大笑。孙子说：“纪律不严明，号令不熟悉，是将领的过错；号令已很明确而不按照去做，就是军官和士兵的过错。”就要斩杀左右两队的队长。吴王在台上观看，看到要斩他的爱姬，非常惊恐，赶紧派使者传令道：“我已经知道将军善于用兵了。我没了这两个妃子，就会连吃饭也没有味道，希望不要杀她们。”孙子说：“我既然已经受命为将领，将领在军中，国君的命令有的可以不用听从。”于是斩了两个队长示众。依次又派两人任队长，于是又击鼓。妇人们向左向右、向前向后、下跪起立都符合命令和纪律的要求，没人敢出声。于是孙子派人报告吴王说：“队伍已经整齐，大王可以试着下来看看，任凭大王使用，即使是赴汤蹈火也可做到。”吴王说：“将军回旅馆休息吧，我不愿意下去看。”孙子说：“大王只是喜欢我的兵书，不能实际任用我。”由此阖庐知道孙子善于用兵，终于任用他为将军。向西打败强大的楚国，攻入郢都；向北威震齐国、晋国，名扬诸



order for a left turn. But once more the women burst out laughing.

Then he said, "If the rules are not clear and orders are not understood, the commander is to blame. But when orders are clear yet not carried out, it is the officers who are to blame." He prepared to execute both company leaders.

The king, watching from his stand, was aghast to see that his favourites were about to be executed and hastily sent messengers with orders, saying, "I can see you are an able general. But without these two concubines my food would lose all flavour. I beg you to spare them."

Sun Wu replied, "I have been appointed commander, and a general in the field is not bound by orders from his sovereign." So he had the two leaders killed as an example, and made the next two officers. This time, when he sounded the drums, the women turned left or right, advanced or retreated, and knelt or stood up exactly as they were told, not daring to utter a sound.

Then Sun Wu sent a message to the king, saying, "The troops are in fighting trim, ready for inspection. Your Majesty can do what you please with them — they will go through fire or water."

"You may go back to your hostel and rest," replied the king. "I have no desire to inspect them."

Sun Wu said, "Your Majesty is only interested in the theory, not in the real thing."

King Helü, convinced of Sun Wu's skill as a commander, later made him his general. In the west he defeated mighty Chu, entering Ying.¹ In the north, he struck awe into Qi and Jin, and Wu's fame



【原文】

晋，显名诸侯。孙子与有力焉。

孙武既死，后百余岁有孙臆。臆生阿、鄆之间，臆亦孙武之后世子孙也。孙臆尝与庞涓俱学兵法。庞涓既事魏，得为惠王将军，而自以为能不及孙臆，乃阴使召孙臆。臆至，庞涓恐其贤于己，疾之，则以法刑断其两足而黥之，欲隐勿见。

齐使者如梁，孙臆以刑徒阴见，说齐使。齐使以为奇，窃载与之齐。齐将田忌善而客待之。忌数与齐诸公子驰逐重射。孙子见其马足不甚相远，马有上、中、下辈。于是孙子谓田忌曰：“君弟重射，臣能令君胜。”田忌信然之，与王及诸公子逐射千金。及临质，孙子曰：“今以君之下驷与彼上驷，取君上驷与彼中驷，取君

【今译】

侯。这里面孙子有很大贡献。

孙武死后，过了一百多年出了个孙臆。孙臆生长在阿城、鄆城一带，孙臆也是孙武的后代子孙。孙臆曾经同庞涓一起学习兵法。庞涓后来到魏国作官，又作了惠王的将军，而他自认为才能比不上孙臆，就暗中派人叫来孙臆。孙臆来后，庞涓害怕他的能力超过自己，就妒忌他，于是巧立罪名用刑砍断他的两只脚，还在他脸上刺了字，想使他隐藏起来不再露面。

齐国使者到了大梁，孙臆以刑徒的身份暗中去见他，游说齐国使者。齐国使者认为他是奇才，就偷偷用车带着他到齐国去。齐国将军田忌认为他贤能用宾客之礼招待他。田忌屡次同齐国公子们赛马打赌。孙子看到那些马的脚力差不了多少，马可分为上、中、下三等。于是孙子对田忌说：“您尽管下最大的赌注，我能使您获胜。”田忌听信了他的话，跟齐王和公子们下了千金的赌注赛马。到比赛开始时，孙子说：“现在用您的下等马同他们的上等马比，用您的上等马同他们的中等马比，用您的中等马同他



spread through all the states. All this was partly thanks to Sun Wu.

More than a hundred years after Sun Wu's death, a descendant of his named Sun Bin was born in the district between A and Juan. Sun Bin studied the art of war with Pang Juan, who later served in Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) as one of King Hui's generals; but Pang Juan knowing that he was no match for Sun Bin, secretly arranged to have him summoned to the court. After Sun Bin's arrival Pang Juan, afraid of being outshone, was jealous of him. He had Sun Bin's feet cut off and his face tattooed on a criminal charge in the hope that he would no longer appear in public. When an envoy from Qi came to the capital of Wei, Sun Bin went privately to see him although he was a mutilated convict. The envoy was so impressed that he smuggled him out in his carriage to Qi. And there General Tian Ji treated him well and became his patron.

Now Tian Ji often bet heavily on races between his chariots and those of the young lords of Qi. Their teams, divided into three classes, were well-matched. Seeing this, Sun Bin advised, "Stake heavily! I shall see that you win."

Taking him at his word, Tian Ji bet a thousand gold pieces with the king and lords. Just before the race started, Sun Bin said, "Run your worst team against their best, your best against their second-best, and



【原文】

中驷与彼下驷。”既驰三辈毕，而田忌一不胜而再胜，卒得王千金。于是忌进孙子于威王。威王问兵法，遂以为师。

其后魏伐赵，赵急，请救于齐。齐威王欲将孙臆，臆辞谢曰：“刑余之人不可。”于是乃以田忌为将，而孙子为师，居辎车中，坐为计谋。田忌欲引兵之赵，孙子曰：“夫解杂乱纷纠者不控卷，救斗者不搏捍。批亢捣虚，形格势禁，则自为解耳。今梁、赵相攻，轻兵锐卒必竭于外，老弱罢于内；君不若引兵疾走大梁，据其街路，冲其方虚，彼必释赵而自救。是我一举解赵之围而收弊于魏也。”田忌从之，魏果去邯郸，与齐战于桂陵，大破梁军。

【今译】

们的下等马比。”三个等级的马比赛完毕，田忌输一场胜两场，终于赢得了齐王的千金。这样田忌又把孙子推荐给齐威王。齐威王向他询问兵法，又尊他为军师。

后来魏国攻打赵国，赵国形势危急，向齐国求救。齐威王想让孙臆任将军，孙臆推辞道：“受过刑罚的人不能任主将。”于是就任命田忌为将军，孙子做军师，住在辎车中，坐着出谋划策。田忌想带兵到赵国，孙子说：“要解决杂乱纠纷的人不能握紧拳头用劲，阻止打斗的人不能插身其中。避实就虚，让对方感到形势受阻而有所顾忌，就会自动解围了。如今魏国攻打赵国，精兵强将一定是在外精疲力竭，老弱之人在国内疲于奔命；您不如带兵迅速攻打大梁，占据其交通要道，攻打他们空虚之处，他们一定放弃赵国而回来解救自己。这样我们就一举解了赵国之围又使魏国自行挫败。”田忌听从孙臆的意见，魏国果然撤离邯郸，同齐军在桂陵交战，魏军大败。



your second-best against their worst." Then Tian Ji lost one race but won the two others, getting a thousand gold pieces from the king. After this he recommended Sun Bin to King Wei, who consulted him on military theory and then made him his chief of staff.

Later Wei attacked Zhao, and Zhao turned in desperation to Qi for aid. King Wei of Qi wished Sun Bin to lead his army, but he declined because he was mutilated. So Tian Ji was made commander with Sun Bin as his chief of staff. Sun Bin accompanied him in a covered carriage to advise him.

Tian Ji wanted to march on Zhao but Sun Bin said, "To unravel a knot you must not hold it tight. To settle a quarrel you must not join in the fighting. If we leave what is knotted and attack what is loose, making further entanglement impossible, matters can be sorted out. Since Wei and Zhao are at war, their picked troops have all been called out, leaving none at home but the old and infirm. Your best course is to lead your men quickly to Daliang,² cut their lines of communication and attack undefended points, so that Wei's forces have to leave Zhao to save their own land. Then at one stroke we shall raise the siege of Zhao and harass Wei."

Tian Ji acted on this advice and the army of Wei withdrawing from Handan³ was routed by the men of Qi at Guiling.





【原文】

后十三岁，魏与赵攻韩，韩告急于齐。齐使田忌将而往，直走大梁。魏将庞涓闻之，去韩而归，齐军既已过而西矣。孙子谓田忌曰：“彼三晋之兵素悍勇而轻齐，齐号为怯，善战者因其势而利导之。兵法，百里而趣利者蹶上将，五十里而趣利者军半至。使齐军入魏地为十万灶，明日为五万灶，又明日为三万灶。”庞涓行三日，大喜，曰：“我固知齐军怯，入吾地三日，士卒亡者过半矣。”乃弃其步军，与其轻锐倍日并行逐之。孙子度其行，暮当至马陵。马陵道狭，而旁多阻隘，可伏兵，乃斫大树白而书之曰：“庞涓死于此树之下。”于是令齐军善射者万弩，夹道而伏，期曰：

【今译】

十三年后，魏国和赵国一起攻打韩国，韩国向齐国告急。齐国派田忌带兵前往，直奔大梁。魏国将领庞涓听说了，离开韩国回国，齐军已经过境西进了。孙子对田忌说：“那魏国的军队一向勇猛强悍而轻视齐军，齐军以胆怯出名，善于用兵的人就要利用这样的形势使其向有利的方向发展。兵书上讲，出兵百里去逐利的，前锋主将要受挫，急行军五十里去争利的，只有一半军队能够赶到。下令齐军进入魏国后筑十万人煮饭用的灶，第二天筑五万人煮饭用的灶，再下一天筑三万人煮饭用的灶。”庞涓行军三天，非常高兴，说：“我就知道齐军胆小，进入我国境内三天，士卒逃亡的已超过一半了。”于是丢下步兵，和其轻装精锐部队日夜兼程追赶齐军。孙子估计他的行程，晚上应当到马陵。马陵道窄，而路旁多险阻，可以埋伏兵力，于是把一棵大树削得露出白皮，在上面写道：“庞涓死在这棵树下。”于是命齐军中的神射手一万人，沿路埋伏，约好：“晚上看到火光亮起就一起放箭。”庞



Thirteen years later Wei and Zhao together attacked Han (403B.C.-230B.C.). Han turned to Qi for help and Tian Ji was sent out with another army which again marched straight against Daliang. When General Pang Juan of Wei knew this, he returned from Han, but by then the forces of Qi had advanced further west.

Then Sun Bin told Tian Ji, "The soldiers of Wei are brave and bellicose, despising our men and considering them cowards. A skilful strategist should make use of this and lure them with the prospect of easy success. According to the military treatise, an army that rushes a hundred *li* after easy success may lose its commander; fifty *li*, and half its troops will fail to arrive. So let us light a hundred thousand campfires on the day our troops enter Wei, fifty thousand the second day, and thirty thousand the third."

After pursuing the army of Qi for three days, General Pang Juan exulted, "I knew the men of Qi were cowards! After only three days in our territory, more than half of them have deserted." Leaving the bulk of his army and taking only lightly-armed crack troops he pressed on at twice the pace in hot pursuit.

Sun Bin reckoned that by dusk the pursuers would reach Maling. The road there was narrow and had boulders on both sides where ambushes could be laid. He stripped the bark from a large tree and wrote on the trunk, "Under this tree shall Pang Juan die!" That night he placed ten thousand of his finest bowmen in ambush on both sides of the road, with orders to shoot when they saw a flame. And sure enough,



【原文】

“暮见火举而俱发。”庞涓果夜至斫木下，见白书，乃钻火烛之。读其书未毕，齐军万弩俱发，魏军大乱相失。庞涓自知智穷兵败，乃自刭，曰：“遂成竖子之名！”齐因乘胜尽破其军，虏太子申以归。孙臆以此名显天下，世传其兵法。

吴起者，卫人也，好用兵。尝学于曾子，事鲁君。齐人攻鲁，鲁欲将吴起，吴起取齐女为妻，而鲁疑之。吴起于是欲就名，遂杀其妻，以明不与齐也。鲁卒以为将。将而攻齐，大破之。

鲁人或恶吴起曰：“起之为人，猜忍人也。其少时，家累千金，游仕不遂，遂破其家。乡党笑之，吴起杀其谤己者三十余人，而东出卫郭门。与其母诀，啮臂而盟曰：‘起不为卿相，不复

【今译】

涓果然夜间来到那棵树下，看到树白皮上有字，就让人取火来照树上的字。还没读完，齐军万箭齐发，魏军大乱，彼此失去联系。庞涓自知智穷兵败，于是刎颈自杀，说：“竟让这小子出了名！”齐军于是乘胜彻底打败魏军，俘虏了魏太子申回国。孙臆因此名扬天下，世上流传他的兵法著作。

吴起，是卫国人，喜欢用兵之术。曾向曾子学习，为鲁国国君做事。齐人攻打鲁国，鲁国想让吴起作将军，吴起娶了齐国女子为妻，鲁国因此怀疑他。吴起于是想成就功名，就杀了自己的妻子，以表明自己不会帮助齐国。鲁国终于任命他为将军。吴起率军攻打齐国，大败齐军。

鲁国有人攻击吴起道：“吴起为人，猜忌残忍。他年轻时，家产千金，游历求官不成，于是败掉了家业。乡党们嘲笑他，吴起杀了三十多个讥笑他的人，离开卫国，经东门出走。他同母亲告别，咬着胳膊盟誓道：‘我不作卿相，就不再回卫国。’于是师事



when Pang Juan came to the tree in the dark and glimpsed some writing on the bare trunk, he struck a light. Before he could finish reading, ten thousand crossbows were discharged together and the army of Wei was thrown into confusion. Pang Juan knew that he was outgeneralled, his army doomed.

"I have let that puppy make his name!" he swore, and cut his own throat.

In the flush of victory the men of Qi utterly routed the enemy and returned with Shen, the crown prince of Wei, as their captive. Thus the fame of Sun Bin spread wide, and his military treatise was handed down to later generations.

Wu Qi of Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) was a brilliant soldier. After studying under Zeng Shen, he served the duke of Lu. When the army of Qi attacked Lu, the duke wanted to make him a commander but did not trust him because his wife came from Qi. In his eagerness to make a name, Wu Qi killed his wife to show that Qi meant nothing to him. Then he was made commander and inflicted a crushing defeat on Qi.

Some men of Lu condemned him, saying, "Wu Qi is suspicious and ruthless. When he was young his family was well-to-do, but he ruined it by his vain wanderings in search of official posts. Because his fellow villagers jeered at him, he killed thirty and more of his detractors and left through the East Gate of the capital of Wei. Taking leave of his mother, he bit his arm and swore, 'Unless I become a high minister, I shall never return to Wei!' He went to study under Zeng



【原文】

入卫。’遂事曾子。居顷之，其母死，起终不归。曾子薄之，而与起绝。起乃之鲁，学兵法以事鲁君。鲁君疑之，起杀妻以求将。夫鲁小国，而有战胜之名，则诸侯图鲁矣。且鲁、卫，兄弟之国也，而君用起，则是弃卫。”鲁君疑之，谢吴起。

吴起于是闻魏文侯贤，欲事之。文侯问李克曰：“吴起何如人哉？”李克曰：“起贪而好色，然用兵，司马穰苴不能过也。”于是魏文侯以为将，击秦，拔五城。

起之为将，与士卒最下者同衣食。卧不设席，行不骑乘，亲裹赢粮，与士卒分劳苦。卒有病疽者，起为吮之。卒母闻而哭之。人曰：“子，卒也，而将军自吮其疽，何哭为？”母曰：“非然也。往

【今译】

曾子。过了不久，他母亲死了，吴起最终没有回去。曾子鄙薄他，就和他绝交了。吴起于是到了鲁国，学习兵法为鲁国国君做事。鲁君怀疑他，吴起杀了妻子以求被任命为将军。鲁国是小国，而有战胜的名声，诸侯们就打鲁国的主意。况且鲁国、卫国是兄弟般的国家，而鲁君起用吴起，就是舍弃了卫国。”鲁君怀疑吴起，疏远了他。

吴起这时听说魏文侯贤德，想去事奉他。魏文侯问李克说：“吴起是什么样的人呢？”李克说：“吴起贪婪而好色，可是他用兵是司马穰苴也比不过的。”于是魏文侯任命吴起为将，攻打秦国，攻下五座城。

吴起为将领，同最下等的士兵穿同样的衣服吃一样的饭。睡觉时不铺被褥，行军不骑马，不乘车，亲自包裹多余的军粮，替士兵分担劳苦。有个生毒疮的士兵，吴起替他吮吸毒汁。士兵的母亲听说后哭了。有人说：“你儿子是士兵，而将军亲自为他吸毒



Shen, but he did not go home when his mother died shortly afterwards, so Zeng Shen despised him and broke with him. Then he came to Lu and studied military science in order to serve our lord, and when our lord suspected him he killed his wife to obtain the post of commander. If a small state like ours makes its name as a conqueror, the other states will all turn against us. Besides, the rulers of Lu and Wei are of the same family, and if our lord employs Wu Qi it will mean that we no longer want Wei's friendship." Then the duke of Lu began to have doubts about Wu Qi and declined his services.

Upon this Wu Qi, hearing good reports of Marquis Wen of Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), tried to enter his service. The marquis asked Li Ke, "What sort of man is Wu Qi?"

"He is ambitious and debauched," said Li Ke. "But not even Sima Rangju of old was a better strategist."

Then the marquis gave Wu Qi the command against Qin, and he took five cities.

In the field, Wu Qi ate and dressed like the rank and file. He slept without a mat, marched on foot instead of riding on horseback or in a chariot, carried his own rations and shared all his troops' hardships. When one of his men had a boil, Wu Qi sucked the pus from it. The soldier's mother wept when she heard of this.

"Why do you weep?" someone asked her. "Your son is a com-



【原文】

年吴公吮其父，其父战不旋踵，遂死于敌。吴公今又吮其子，妾不知其死所矣。是以哭之。”

文侯以吴起善用兵，廉平，尽能得士心，乃以为西河守，以拒秦、韩。

魏文侯既卒，起事其子武侯。武侯浮西河而下，中流，顾而谓吴起曰：“美哉乎，山河之固！此魏国之宝也。”起对曰：“在德不在险。昔三苗氏左洞庭，右彭蠡，德义不修，禹灭之。夏桀之居，左河济，右泰华，伊阙在其南，羊肠在其北，修政不仁，汤放之。殷纣之国，左孟门，右太行，常山在其北，大河经其南，修政不德，武王杀之。由此观之，在德不在险。若君不修德，舟

【今译】

疮，您还哭什么？”那母亲说：“不是这样的。往年吴公为他父亲吸毒疮，他父亲作战时勇往直前，于是死在敌人手里。吴公现在又为我儿子吸毒疮，我不知儿子会死在哪里。所以为他哭泣。”

文侯因为吴起善于用兵，廉洁公正，能得所有士卒的欢心，于是任命吴起为西河太守，来抵御秦国、韩国。

魏文侯死后，吴起事奉其子武侯。武侯沿黄河顺流而下，船到中途，回头对吴起说：“太美了，山河环绕，这是魏国的国宝啊！”吴起回答说：“国家强盛在于仁德而不在于形势险要。从前三苗氏左有洞庭湖，右有彭蠡泽，不修德义，禹灭掉了它。夏桀的住处，左边是黄河、济水，右边是泰山、华山，伊阙山在它南面，羊肠坡在它北面，但他不修仁政，汤放逐了他。殷纣的国都，左边有孟门山，右边有太行山，常山在它北面，黄河流经它的南面，他不实行德政，武王杀了他。由此来看，治国在于推行德政而不在于形势险要。如果您不修德政，船中之人都会成为敌



mon soldier, yet the commander sucked the pus from his boil."

"You don't understand," said the women. "Some years back Lord Wu did the same for the boy's father, who then fought without giving ground until he fell. Now Lord Wu has cured my son, the boy too will surely die in a strange place. That is why I am weeping."

When the marquis saw that Wu Qi was an able commander, frugal and just and popular with his men, he made him governor of Xihe to defend his land against Qin and Han (403B.C.-230B.C.).

Wu Qi, after the death of Marquis Wen, served his son, Marquis Wu. One day they were sailing down the Yellow River, when the marquis turned in mid-stream to remark to Wu Qi, "What magnificent defences these hills and the river make! These are Wei's greatest treasure."

"We must rely on our virtue, not on our strategic position," replied Wu Qi. "Long ago, the San Miao had Dongting Lake on one side and Pengli Lake on the other; but because they did not cultivate virtue and righteousness, Yu overthrew their state. King Jie of the Xia Dynasty had the Yellow River and the River Ji on one side and Mount Tai and Mount Hua on the other, with Mount Yique on his south and Yangchang Slope on his north; but because he ruled without benevolence, he was sent into exile by Tang of the Shang. King Zhou of Yin had Mengmen Mountain on one side and the Taihang Range on the other, with Mount Changshan on his north and the Yellow River on his south; but because he ruled without virtue, he was killed by King Wu of Zhou. This shows that success depends on virtue, not on favourable terrain. If Your Lordship did not cultivate virtue, all the men in this boat could turn against you." The marquis, approving this speech, confirmed his appointment

【原文】

中之人尽为敌国也。”武侯曰：“善。”

吴起为西河守，甚有声名。魏置相，相田文。吴起不悦，谓田文曰：“请与子论功，可乎？”田文曰：“可。”起曰：“将三军，使士卒乐死，敌国不敢谋，子孰与起？”文曰：“不如子。”起曰：“治百官，亲万民，实府库，子孰与起？”文曰：“不如子。”起曰：“守西河而秦兵不敢东向，韩、赵宾从，子孰与起？”文曰：“不如子。”起曰：“此三者，子皆出吾下，而位加吾上，何也？”文曰：“主少国疑，大臣未附，百姓不信，方是之时，属之于子乎？属之于我乎？”起默然良久，曰：“属之子矣。”文曰：“此乃吾所以居子之上也。”吴起乃自知弗如田文。

【今译】

国之人。”武侯说：“好。”

吴起做西河守，很有声誉。魏国设相国，任命田文为相。吴起不高兴，对田文说：“请让我跟你比比功劳，怎么样？”田文说：“可以。”吴起说：“统率三军，使士兵愿意去死战，敌国不敢打魏国的主意，您和我比谁强？”田文说：“我不如您。”吴起说：“管理百官，使百姓亲附，使仓库储藏充实，您和我比谁强？”田文说：“我不如您。”吴起说：“镇守西河而秦军不敢侵扰东方，韩国、赵国归附，您和我比谁强？”田文说：“我不如您。”吴起说：“这三方面，你都在我之下，而位置却在我之上，为什么？”田文说：“国君年轻，国家不安定，大臣不顺服，百姓不信任，在这时，是应把政务交给您呢？还是交给我呢？”吴起默然良久，说：“应该交给您。”田文说：“这就是我职位在您之上的原因。”吴起才知道自己不如田文。



as governor of Xihe, and Wu Qi became yet more famous.

When the marquis made Tian Wen his chief minister, Wu Qi was far from pleased. He asked Tian Wen:

“Shall we compare our achievements?”

Tian Wen said, “As you please.”

“How do you compare with me in commanding the army so that the troops gladly lay down their lives and no enemy dare attack?”

“I am no match for you.”

“How do you compare with me in running offices of state, ruling the citizens and keeping the treasury filled?”

“I am no match for you.”

“How do you compare with me in defending the western frontier so that the army of Qin dares not move east and both Han and Wei obey us?”

“I am no match for you.”

“If in all these respects you are no match for me, how is it you are given the more important post?”

Tian Wen replied, “When the sovereign is young and the state unsettled, when the chief ministers waver in their allegiance and the common people lack confidence, who is better fitted to be in charge — you or I?”

After a considerable silence Wu Qi answered, “You are, sir.”

He realized that Tian Wen was the more able man.



【原文】

田文既死，公叔为相，尚魏公主，而害吴起。公叔之仆曰：“起易去也。”公叔曰：“奈何？”其仆曰：“吴起为人节廉而自喜名也。君因先与武侯言，曰‘夫吴起，贤人也，而侯之國小，又与强秦壤界，臣窃恐起之无留心也。’武侯即曰：‘奈何？’君因谓武侯曰：‘试延以公主，起有留心则必受之，无留心则必辞矣。以此卜之。’君因召吴起而与归，即令公主怒而轻君。吴起见公主之贱君也，则必辞。”于是吴起见公主之贱魏相，果辞魏武侯。武侯疑之而弗信也。吴起惧得罪，遂去，即之楚。

楚悼王素闻起贤，至则相楚。明法审令，捐不急之官，废公族疏远者，以抚养战斗之士。要在强兵，破驰说之言从横者。于是南

【今译】

田文死后，公叔任相国，娶了魏国公主，忌恨吴起。公叔的仆人说：“吴起容易除掉。”公叔说：“怎么办？”他的仆人说：“吴起为人高傲而且喜爱虚名。您可趁机先对武侯说：‘吴起是有才能的人，可是您的国家小，又和强秦接壤，我私下担心吴起没有久留之心。’武侯就会问：‘怎么办呢？’您就对武侯说：‘试着用把公主嫁给他的话试探，吴起有久留之心就一定会接受，没有久留之心就一定会推辞。以此可推测其心意。’您就请吴起和你一起回家，故意让公主发怒而轻视您。吴起看到公主这样轻视您，就一定会推辞。”于是吴起看到了公主轻视魏相的样子，果然谢绝了魏武侯。武侯怀疑他，不再信任他。吴起害怕受惩处，于是离开，就去了楚国。

楚悼王一向听说吴起贤德，一到楚国就让他任相国。他申明法令，裁减不必要的官员，废除对疏远王族的供养，来抚养战士。重点在于使军队强盛，斥退那些纵横游说之人。于是向南平定百越；



After Tian Wen's death, Gong Shu, the new chief minister who had married a daughter of the marquis, feared Wu Qi.

One of Gong Shu's servants said, "You can easily rid yourself of him." When asked how, he replied, "Wu Qi leads a disciplined and simple life, and is proud. Tell the marquis that he is an able man but our state is so small and so close to mighty Qin that you fear that he may not intend to stay. When the marquis asks what you advise, suggest that he test Wu Qi by offering him one of his daughters, for he will accept only if he means to stay. This is a way to find out. Then invite Wu Qi to your house and let the princess who is your lady insult you. When Wu Qi sees with what contempt she treats you, he will decline the offer."

When this happened just as the servant had predicted, the marquis began to have his doubts of Wu Qi, who, to avoid trouble, went to Chu.

As King Dao of Chu had heard of Wu Qi's ability, he made him chief minister. Wu Qi enforced the laws and strengthened discipline, dispensed with sinecures, abolished the privileges of distant relatives of the royal house, and spent the money saved on building up the army. He also refuted the travelling orators who advocated submission or opposition to Qin. Then Chu conquered the tribes of Baiyue in



【原文】

平百越；北并陈、蔡，却三晋；西伐秦。

诸侯患楚之强，故楚之贵戚尽欲害吴起。及悼王死，宗室大臣作乱而攻吴起。吴起走之王尸而伏之。击起之徒因射刺吴起，并中悼王。悼王既葬，太子立，乃使令尹尽诛射吴起而并中王尸者。坐射起而夷宗死者七十余家。

太史公曰：世俗所称师旅，皆道《孙子》十三篇，吴起《兵法》，世多有，故弗论，论其行事所施設者。语曰：“能行之者未必能言，能言之者未必能行。”孙子筹策庞涓明矣，然不能蚤救患于被刑。吴起说武侯以形势不如德，然行之于楚，以刻暴少恩亡其躯。悲夫！

【今译】

向北吞并陈国、蔡国，击退三晋的军队；向西讨伐秦国。

诸侯都为楚国强盛而忧虑，原来楚国的王族都想加害吴起。等到悼王去世，王室大臣暴乱，攻击吴起，吴起跑过去伏在悼王的尸体上。射杀吴起的那些人在射吴起时，也射中了悼王的尸体。悼王下葬后，太子即位，于是命令尹把射吴起时射中悼王尸体的人全部杀掉。因射杀吴起而被灭族的有七十余家。

太史公说：世俗所称道的用兵之法，都会讲到《孙子》十三篇和吴起《兵法》，这两部书世上多有流传，所以不加论述，只论述其生平行事的所作所为。俗话说：“能做事的人不一定能讲清道理，能讲清道理的人未必能做事。”孙子算计庞涓的计策很神明，可是不能预先防范受刑的灾祸。吴起对武侯讲形势险要不如实行德政的道理，可在楚国执政时，却因苛刻少恩而丢了性命。可悲啊！



the south, annexed Chen and Cai in the north, repulsed Han, Zhao and Wei⁴ and attacked Qin in the west. All the other states were alarmed by Chu's strength, and the nobles of Chu wanted to kill Wu Qi. As soon as King Dao died, the nobles and ministers rose up and attacked him. Wu Qi took refuge behind the king's corpse, and some of the arrows of his enemies pierced King Dao's body too. After the burial of King Dao, the crown prince ascended the throne. He ordered his chief minister to execute all who had shot Wu Qi and desecrated his father's corpse. More than seventy families were wiped out in connection with this crime.

The Grand Historian comments: When men speak of military strategy, reference is nearly always made to the thirteen chapters of Sun Wu's treatise, while Wu Qi's military treatise is also widely known. For this reason I passed over them to speak only of these men's actions and achievements. The proverb says: Doers are not always talkers, nor talkers doers. Sun Bin showed great intelligence in foreseeing Pang Juan's moves, yet failed earlier to forestall his own mutilation. Wu Qi, who assured the marquis that virtue was more important than strategy, acted with such cruelty and ruthlessness that finally he brought about his own death. The pity of it!

¹ The capital of Chu.

² The capital of Wei.

³ The capital of Zhao.

⁴ During the Warring States Period Jin was split into three states—Han, Zhao and Wei.